

A further and more perticular

A C C O U N T

Of the Cruel Desperate and
Bloody Fight and Uproar,
That happen'd in Ireland on Monday the 6th of May 1700, between the
Weavers and Butchers.

As also the great Number of Men that were Wounded and Kill'd on both sides, some having their Heads, Arms, Backs, and Leggs Broke, in a Cruel and Terrible manner; with other Dreadful Circumstances that occasion'd it.

WE have an Account from *Dublin*, that on *Monday* the 6th instant, a strange and disorderly Uproar happened in that City, between the *Butchers* and *Weavers*, about a Quarrel that arose between them, which was to been ended by a Match at Foot-ball, but the *Butchers* not being willing to hazard their Persons in such Exercise, the *Weavers* who are very Courageous Fellows Dar'd them to it in a very insolent manner, insomuch that at last by Consent both Parties agreed, to put an end to the said Difference by a set Battle on *Stevens-Green*, where they Assembled and met each other in a Warlike manner (being Forty on each side) with Clubbs, Pikes, Stones, Cleavers, and some Guns, at which time the *Weavers* giving the *Butchers* such a sharp Onset, that the *Butchers* after an Obstinate Resistance, was forced to give way, which the *Weavers* perceiving renewed the Fight, with such Fury, and Violence, that the *Butchers* were put into great Confusion and Disorder, and thereupon Fled in great Consternation through the City, to *St. Patrick's-Street* among their chief *Shambles*, where tho having Fortified themselves, the *Weavers* again Assaulted them with such desperate Courage and Resolution, that they were forced, to take to their Heels a second time, and in fine were totally Defeated, tho their Wives at the same time much Discomodod the *Weavers*, by throwing Stones, pieces of Iron, &c. out at the Windows, and from off the Houses, which Enraged them to that degree that in Revenge they pull'd Down their Signs and part of some Houses; and in a little time, with the Coming in of the Mobb, they were Encreased to a vast Body, insomuch that the Lord Mayor, and most of the the Aldermen, and several Companys of Souldiers, were forced to come to Dispers them, which was done with much Difficulty.

About Three-score and Twelve Persons were Wounded in this Horribly, besides 6 or 7 that were Kill'd out right upon the Spot, most of them being *Butchers* that were Wounded, some having their Heads broke, others their Arms, Backs, and Leggs in a terrible manner, and 'tis thought many of them will Die of their Wounds. Six of the Chief Ring Leaders are since Apprehended and sent to Newgate under a strict Guard, The whole City was so much amazed at this suddain Uproar and disorder, that most of the Cheifest Cittizens durst not go to Bed that Night, but went about the City with part of the Army to prevent further Insurrections and Tumults. It was observed that both *Butchers* and *Weavers* did more Mischief with Stones than with their other Weapons, there being great Numbers on the Green where they Fought: There were abundance of Mobb that came in during this terrible Encounter, who began in a desperate manner to divid themselves some for the *Weavers*, and some for the *Butchers* so that had not the Magistrates with part of the Army suppress'd them as they did, this Riotous Tumult might have had very ill Effects, and the rather because a Proclamation lately Published has allowed Corn to be Transported which has caused much Murmuring among the Poorer sort, by the suddain advancement of the price of Bread, and consequently of all sorts of Grain, many Persons of Note are very much blam'd for promoting the same, and 'tis said that the Mobb has publicly threatned some particular Persons who had Petitioned the Lord Chief Justices for the said Proclamation.

A

LETTER

FROM

St. OMARS,

IN

Farther Confirmation of the Truth

OF THE

POPISH PLOT,

UPON

A Consideration of divers Circumstances

IN THE

TRIALS.

TOGETHER

With several new Matters relating to a farther Discovery thereof;

AND PARTICULARLY,

A LETTER from Mr. JENNISON,

Proving Mr. Ireland to have been in London the 19th of August, contrary to the Staffordshire Witnesses, and what the five Jesuits (lately Executed) insisted upon at their Trials.

With REMARKS upon the said Letter.

LONDON, Printed in the Year MDCLXXIX.

LETTER

FROM

JOHN A. MARR

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A
LETTER
FROM
SAINT OMARS
TO A
Friend in LONDON.

SIR,

I Should be unworthy of that care and friendship which you have expressed towards me, if I should not gratefully acknowledge the satisfaction I have taken, not only in your several Letters from time to time, giving me an account of the Discovery of that most hellish and horrid Plot, so lately made known in *England*, for the alteration of Religion and subversion of Government, by Massacre, War and Fire; but also the great pleasure I have received in the present which you sent me of all the printed and written papers, publicly made known, and privately dispersed concerning this Plot. I must therefore, after I have acknowledged the favour therein, let you know the satisfaction I have taken, how much it has wrought upon my Conscience, what impressions they have made on others, the Objections some have made, and the Answers I have been enabled to give them, grounded on those publick Trials and Transactions which you have sent me. And as you have truly convinc'd me of the great Error I was run into; so no doubt, by your Argument and Assistance, I have been able to do the like on this side the Water, to many, who erred not wilfully, but were led aside by the cunning Discourses of the Adverse Party, and to stop the mouths of some of the most malicious and violent Enemies of the Protestants in *England*, who here have endeavoured to make us believe there has been no such Plot contrived by the *Jesuits* and *Papists* in *England*, or else that the Plot is only of the making and contriving of those you call *Sectaries* and *Fanaticks* in *England*; and that all this is wrought through their Cunning and Contrivance, to scandalize and extirpate the Catholics and their Religion in *England*: and other stories to the discrediting the King's Evidence, as if they had falsely accused, and took away the lives of many holy men and Catholics, innocent and unknowing of any such Plot or Massacre, thereby begetting a general Odium and Evil-speaking against the *Sectaries* and *Hereticks*, as they call them, in *England*. By these cunning Artifices and seditious Insinuations, they have been very careful in these parts, to take away the scandal and reproach so horrid a design might lay upon the Catholic Party, and to invalidate, as much as they are able, all reports and proofs thereof; and therefore have endeavoured to stop and suppress all the light thereof, and all Books or Papers that may any way inform the Judgements of the people, who are made to believe quite contrary to what you have made me to see. And I question not but that also, in some measure, the same skill and artifice of the Jesuitical Party is used amongst you as well as here, and that by their cunning Insinuations and Contrivances, they have been able (as you seem to intimate) to pervert the minds of many in *England*, and to fix on them a strange blindness and disbelief of the Plot, not only of those of their Religion, and well-affected to their way, but also of many of the more moderate and simply honest of the contrary Party, who have been led aside by their specious pretences, and seditious insinuations, and diligent aspersions of the Witnesses, and startled and confirmed by the pertinacious denying and seeming Innocency of those that suffer'd for the same.

If then in *England*, where these things are transacted, they are able to alienate the minds of many, and to keep them in the mist of ignorance and unbelief, you may be sure that at this distance, and where the power of your Adversaries has more force and strength, and where they have far greater means to stifle the breaking forth of the least Ray of the light of Truth, that the people are much more ignorant, and by that means more prejudiced against you; though there are none almost, to whom I have made known and communicated those Papers and Letters you sent me, but are either convinc'd, or know not how to raise any just Argument against the Truth of what they assert.

It has always been the way of these sedulous Emissaries of the Society, to palliate great miscarriages with specious pretences, and to daub over the most notable deformities with an holy paint and religious *fucus*, and to colour their detected Crimes by pious frauds, lies, and perjuries. And it is not now they begin to practice those things you seem to hint at in your Letters, as may by several instances and known events be made appear: and which indeed has been a scandal to many good Catholics, and knowing Christians, who have not at all approved of the ways of these Jesuitical Brethren, who have converted Religion to principles of State, and changed Christianity to mere Policy; and by endeavouring to maintain their own greatness, and by unjust and politic ways striving to attain their ends of Power and Dominion, have lost much the opinion, not onely of those of the contrary Religion or Reformed, but also of many of those who are Roman Catholics, who have been distast'd at their principles and practices. For as there were Roman Catholics before there were Jesuits, so were that Order not in being, I am apt to believe that their number would not be less: for though by their Argifices and Policies they have made themselves great, and kept up the power of the Bishop of Rome, and by their insinuations into all the Courts of the Princes of Christendom made themselves formidable, and knowing of all affairs; yet on the other hand, by the many miscarriages and detections of many of their Plots and Contrivances, and their wicked and evil Machinations, they have opened the mouths of the Protestants against the Roman Catholics too justly, and also opened the Eyes to see, and alienated the Hearts of many of the Roman Catholics themselves from their detected ways and abominable courses, which they have manifestly taken to establish themselves, or as they say to *propagate Religion*, and to *extirpate Heresie*.

But certainly, Truth does not need the hand of Policy, and especially evil and immoral Maxims, and unvertuous Contrivances, to defend it: and as it is far from the Doctrine and Method of *Christ* and his Apostles, and their immediate Successours, to propagate his Religion or Christianity by Plots, Massacres, Force, or Cruelty, or by any unjust way or means; so always the attempt thereof has ever prov'd pernicious, and has raised up evil thoughts of Religion in many, making some Atheists, and others Hereticks and Schismatics; and by that means they have lost more from the Catholick Cause, then ever they have gained thereto by these pernicious courses. For where the dint of Argument cannot prevail, and where the Conscience cannot be allured, the dint of Sword, Oppression and Persecution, will never be able to overcome; nor Plots and Contrivances, though never so well laid, will prevail, as we have often experimentally found. And though by these means any Religion may seem for a time to be establish'd, yet at last it will quickly burst out into a flame; for it is impossible, with the greatest Tyranny, to establish the greatest Truth, unless it be received into the Minds and Consciences of the people.

I must therefore once again acknowledge the great satisfaction I have received by those Books, Papers and Letters which you have sent me, and which have rectified my doubtfull thoughts, and made me very sensible, that there has not onely been a very great Conspiracy, and most horrid Plot; but also they have made me see who were the contrivers and carriers on of the same: and now I likewise rest satisfied in the punishment of some of the Offendours, being assured that they died not for the Cause of Religion, (as they would here make us believe) but as Criminals and Traytors to their King, Country, and Laws.

I must confess, there has nothing more troubled my Conscience, and made me question the verity of the Romish Faith, in which I was bred, then the laying open of these horrid Designs, and the constant practices of these Brothers of *Jesuw* in all parts: and it has so far awakened me, that I now make it my resolution, to satisfy all those scruples that have arisen thereupon, and to inform my self farther, and to try if those Arguments that the Protestants have used to justify their Separation, be according to those Rules laid down in the Scriptures or not, and to make a more diligent scrutiny into all those differences between us, that I may be no longer in the dark, and grope after uncertainties. And therefore I shall desire still your assistance and correspondence, in furnishing me with those Books and Writings that may be fit for this intention: for as I am an *English*-man I have a natural love to my Country, and notwithstanding any difference in point of Religion, and distance at present from the same, I constantly wish, as I ought, its prosperity and felicity, as I believe all true *English* Catholics not Jesuited, or perverted by their horrid and destructive principles, doe the same; and truly hate all these undue and unrighteous ways of propagating Religion, and the Romish Faith. And I cannot but take notice of that cruel and detestable malice of the Brothers of the Society, who would have cut off *Berry* a Priest, for writing in favour of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which I think any true Catholick may take, without any wrong to his Conscience; and for that end (as I find in your Depositions) they offer'd 10 *li.* as a reward to the said Deponent to kill the said *Berry*. I cannot therefore blame my Countrymen, if after all these doings, which have appeared so horridly unjust, cruel and bloody in all respects, they are grown severe and bitter against all Romish Catholics; and many thousands, though innocent, must suffer in your thoughts and opinions, for the sake of these wicked wretches. And the Plot hath now appeared so general and universal through the Nation, and not onely there, but in *France*, *Flanders*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, that I cannot but wonder at the extent thereof, and admire at the great and abundant mercy of God, that has almost miraculously brought it to light, and prevented it, when even ready to be effected, and even in the height of their security. And this certainly shews, that God does not own such wicked and undue ways and practices, as to bring in any Religion whatsoever by Blood, Plots, Murthers, and Designs.

And I must here take notice and acknowledge, that long before the discovery of this Plot, I have observed in discourse with many on this side the Water, that there was a more then usual expectation of something to be done in *England*; and sometimes they would darkly intimate, that e're long we should see the true Catholick Religion flourish again in that Kingdom as much or more then ever: so that no doubt, many more here knew of this secret, and had great expectations, besides those who were intrusted in carrying on the Design.

As to what you seem to desire, how this Plot is refuted here, among us, and what people say thereof, I must answer, that the stream seems to run two ways, and is divided according to the humour of the people. For the more moderate and just do extremely blame the Authours and Promoters of it, and look upon them as the Ruiners of the Catholick Religion in *England*, who had such indulgence, such favour and kindness shewed them, both from Prince, and People, that notwithstanding the severe penal Laws against them in that Kingdom, they enjoyed fully their own, liv'd quietly without molestation, reproach, and distinction, were admitted into all Offices and places in the Commonwealth and Army, enjoying all the liberty they could expect, or justly desire: and therefore these extremely blame the Jesuitical Party, and all those who were Conspirators, and promoters of this Plot and horrid Design, as wicked and ungrateful persons, that should abuse so much mercy and indulgence shewn to them, and that they could not see their own quiet and happiness in enjoying their Liberty and Estates without interruption, in a Kingdom wholly Protestant, and where they are but a handful in comparison of the others, so that they could not hope to prevail, without horrid Massacres, much Blood, War and Devastation. So that these men seem to be odious, and detested by all that have or make any profession of Godliness, Religion and Piety, who do verily believe, that they have thereby utterly subverted and ruined the Catholick Cause in *England*, believing that you will now urge all those penal Statutes in force against them, and make others more severe, where they are deficient, or banish them wholly out of the Land, And that this will justly open the mouths, and awaken the Pens of all the Protestants against them, and rip up all their former Cruelties, to set the teeth of the people on edge against them, and to render them odious, by shewing their former bloody doings, which had else been forgotten, and were raked up under the ashes of Time. As I perceive by one Book you sent, called *The Antichristian Principle Discovered*, in a brief and true account of all the hellish Plots, bloody Persecutions, and horrid Massacres, and most inhumane Cruelties and Tortures, exercised by the Papists throughout *Europe*, &c. Which shews how much the Spirits of people are awakened against them by these new Machinations, and that all their former Errours, Faults and Cruelties will be anew laid open, and brought out of the Grave of Oblivion, to testify against them.

But it is not onely in *England*, that they have by these unjust and wicked devices done themselves and their Party an injury; but they have awakened the jealous eyes of all the Protestant party throughout *Europe*, who seem to be startled and troubled at this wicked and horrid Design. And as I have heard it lately reported, it hath been so very ill resented by all the Protestant Princes in *Germany*, that it has put them upon stricter caution of preserving themselves and Religion against these sort of men, and the Papists in general, when they see *England*, the prop and glory of *Protestantism*, so desperately struck at, and like to be subverted by these horrid Plots, and wicked Machinations and Conspiracies.

But there is another Party, who either out of cunning, malice or ignorance, will not believe, or at least seem not to believe this to be any such Plot as you in *England* would make it to be. And these sort of men are very sedulous in raising divers Objections, and endeavour to lessen the Evidences, and asperse the Judges, calumniate both Magistrates and People, and by all manner of unjust ways and contrivances seek to instill into the Minds of people that there is no such grand Conspiracy, and that it is onely a subtle and politick way of some great ones in *England*, to make new Combinations and Insurrections there, by which means either to set up the Presbyterian Party, or to bring in again a *Second Commonwealth*; and that all those who have died for those Crimes objected against them; as Coleman, Ireland, Pickering, Groves, Green, Berry, Hill, &c. all died Innocent, Saints and Martyrs, without sufficient proof, and undeservedly. And this these sort of men have been so very carefull to promote, and with that Confidence and Artifice, that truly, they have begot to themselves a very great Party, not onely on this side the Water, but (as I understand from some coming from thence) in *England* also. And indeed, before I received your last present of all the Tryals, which you sent me, I could not tell what to think of it; but since I have read them, and seriously weigh'd all things in an equal Scale and with a just Balance, I am thoroughly convinc'd of the reality of the Plot, and the justness of those mens Sufferings who have died for the same.

And since you have given me the liberty and freedom to communicate to you my thoughts fully concerning this Plot, I think it will not be impertinent cursorily to take notice of the several Objections they have raised against it, to annihilate or invalidate the same, or at least to cast off the Odium and blackness of such a wicked Conspiracy from themselves on others; and also, the Answers I have been able to give them in relation thereto. And since it may be of a publick good and concern, and to the satisfaction of many fluctuating people, if you shall think it requisite, I give you free liberty to publish the same.

In the first place then, that they may beget a very ill opinion of the Persons that are the Discoverers of this Plot, and Accusers of those concerned therein, they have endeavour'd to render them ill Persons in their Lives and Conversations; and so, by this means to make all they shall say or swear not to be believed or adhered to. They remember the Maxim, *Asperse boldly, something will stick*. This is onely to throw dirt in the faces of those persons that God has raised up to detect the most horrid of Villanies. And thus Mr. Ireland, in his Tryal, very subtly brings in Sir Dennis Ashburnham to lessen the Testimony of Mr. Oates, by making him a person of little credit and of ill fame, and that he broke Prison at *Dover*; but that onely by hear-say.

Indeed could they have given any good proof of Mr. Oates his being formerly perjur'd they might have done something as to taking off his Testimony, and weaken'd his Evidence in the opinion of the Jury: but what they endeavour'd to prove was so very weak and frivolous, that it made rather against them, and onely shewed their Malice; for all that Sir Dennis says, amounts onely to this, that he had known Mr. Oates in his youth, and that then he was not a person of that Credit as to be depended on for what he should say, and that had the Discovery of the Plot come onely from his Testimony, he might have made some doubt of it. But then, the very same person

confesses, that it being so corroborated with other Circumstances, he was convinced and satisfied in the truth of the thing. See now, from what little shadow of ill, they rais'd a dark mist to blind the eyes of the people, and by it would endeavour to make them believe all that Mr. Oates should say was false, and that the Plot was of his own making and contriving, set on by the Enemies of their Religion.

But let it be granted that Mr. Oates had been formerly an ill Liver, or what they say of him as to his Life and Conversation in his youth: we know that God makes use of Sinners to glorify his Name, and a conspiring and persecuting *Saul* may become a great and glorious Apostle. Had not Mr. Oates had ill Principles, he never could have been drawn into so horrid a design, (but the Hand of God was in it, who out of Evil produces Good:) for the Jesuits are so close and subtle, and carry on their Designs with that Secrecy and Contrivance, that it would be impossible to detect them, and to have a plain and evident proof against their Treasonable practices, but by one of themselves, and of their Conspiracy. And therefore it cannot be thought any hard usage, (as the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs* observes,) to convict Offenders by Testimony of their Fellows, because 'tis hardly possible to bring other Witnesses: and therefore in that respect Witnesses cannot be absolutely spotless.

Considering the depth of this horrid Plot, and the great persons that were collaterally in the same, carrying on great and various designs, Mr. Oates, the first Discoverer, ran a very great risque of his Credit and Life, so that it behoved him to be cautious and wary, and not to discover a thing of this nature without great proof: and for that by the Laws of England, one single Testimony, though back'd with other Circumstances, will not serve to condemn a person in case of High Treason, Mr. Oates could not of himself have been able to have brought the Offenders to condign punishment, had not God (whose hand was in the Discovery) raised up others also afterwards to give Evidence, and to clear up and dilucidate the whole matter. And this very thing it seems, made those concerned in the Plot so very bold and confident, as not to fly upon his first Discovery of the same: and he had like to have been born down with a strong tyde of Opposition, till the Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, whose forwardness and activity in doing his Duty, and detecting this horrid design, exposed him to their malice and fury; and they, who had gone so far, as to endeavour to murder their King, and subvert the Government of their Country, would not stick at the little murder of one that was so active a minister in bringing the business to light, and unravelling the bottom of their wicked designs.

But the murder of this person strangely awakened the minds of people, who were before in a great Security, and looked but lightly on the Plot, (as I am inform'd by Relations from England) and the cry of his blood call'd down God's Vengeance on the Plotters, and no doubt, they gave themselves a mortal blow when they strangled this Innocent person. And since it was requisite, that there should be more Evidence than one, God made use of this Murder, so far as to awaken thereby the Conscience of Mr. *Bedlow*, who was to have been engaged in the Murder of this Gentleman, and who knew of it, and was one in the great Conspiracy and Plot, and who also, though fled for the same, was at last compelled by the force of his troubled Conscience to come in voluntarily, to second Mr. Oates, and to detect both the Murder and the Plot.

I cannot hear, that they have any thing to object against Mr. *Bedlow* in particular to take off his Evidence, but that they asperse him in general terms, as if he were hired to the same: but if any one of an unbiass'd Judgment shall seriously read and weigh all the several proofs made out against the Criminals, by Mr. Oates and Mr. *Bedlow*, agreeing in all Circumstances, though no intimacy was ever known to be between them, he must needs acknowledge, that nothing is more clear and evident, than that there could not be any such Conspiracy between them, to invent and frame so many strange stories and relations as they have given in under their Oaths, with all Circumstances as to Places, Time and Persons, without betraying themselves, or being intrapped by those quick-sighted persons by whom they have been examined, and of which we should quickly have heard. So that I cannot but admire at the strange impudence of those persons, who still buz into the ears of the people, that 'tis no Plot but of Oates and *Bedlow*'s making, giving the lie in the face of a whole Nation to the Justices, that have taken the Examinations, to the Judges, that have sat on the Tryals, to the Council, that have sifted and looked into the Papers and Writings belonging to these Plotters, Traitors and Murderers, and to the Lords and Nobility of England, and to the Parliament, the Representative of all the People of England, who in their Vote die *Luna 24. Martii 1678.* declared *nemine Contradicente*, That they were fully satisfied by the proofs they had heard, That there now is, and for divers years last past hath been, a horrid and Treasonable Plot and Conspiracy contrived and carried on by those of the Popish Religion, for the Murdering of his Majesty's sacred Person, and for Subverting the Protestant Religion, and the Ancient and well-established Government of this Kingdom. I say, that after all this clear Evidence against them, and that nothing can be made out more plain and perspicuous, that they should still endeavour to press upon the belief of people, that 'tis a fictitious Plot, is the most strange piece of Impudence I ever heard or read of.

Can any that entertain such a thought believe that the whole Nation are deceived? and that all these, the wisest of the Kingdom, are deluded, or can be made Fools and Asses of by Mr. Oates and Mr. *Bedlow*? or in reason think or suppose, that all these persons are so wicked to frame a Plot against the Papists, and to take away the several Lives of these wretches, only to extirpate a few Papists out of the Kingdom? One of these must consequently follow if there be not in reality any such Plot, as these sort of men would have people believe. But God seeming to resolve to discover fully the bottom of this design, and to make it apparent to all the world, he has given a cloud of Witnesses, and wholly to take away that scruple, hath raised up *Prance* and *Dugdale*, two more, to second and confirm the truth of Oates and *Bedlow*'s assertions.

As to Mr. *Dugdale*, I have heard that they have been so far from aspersing him, that they have (some of them) been forc'd publicly to acknowledge him a sober, honest man: yet he was drawn into the Plot for Religion's sake, till he came to know of the intended Murder of the King, and then the alarm-Bell of his Conscience

science rung so loud that it awaken'd him out of his Lethargy, and brought him to a confession of his Crimes, and to be an Evidence against them.

As to Mr. Prance, God suffer'd him to goe on and to be zealous (as I observe by his own Book) in this Plot, and to be one of the Instruments assisting in the murder of that worthy Knight Sir Edmundbury Godfry, and to continue without remorse, till he was taken onely upon a bare surmise of his being from home some nights, which caused him to be brought before the Council, where he was discovered by Mr. Bedlow, to be one of those persons that he had seen in the Room where Sir Edmundbury Godfry lay murdered; which Mr. Prance himself acknowledges to be the immediate hand of God, which so far pressed upon his Conscience, as afterwards to make a full and ingenuous Confession both of the Murder and Plot, for which he received the King's Pardon. And this is a strenuous evidence against them, and strong confirmation of the Assertions of Mr. Oates and Bedlow, and that what they had delivered, was not by Combination, or any Conspiracy between them.

But against Mr. Prance, I find they had raised three several objections, thinking thereby to make his testimony inconsiderable. The first was, that he was Mad. But as to this, I think all that have read his Depositions, and the Evidence he hath given as to the Plot, with the circumstances of his being engaged in the same, and the punctual account of the Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfry, will not judge him to be bereft of his senses. The things too well cohere together to proceed from a distracted person. The second is, that he was tortur'd, and ill used in Prison, to make him Confess against his Conscience; and that all he had said as to the Plot and Murder, was through fear and terrour. But I shall onely mention his own words, sufficient to clear this Aspersion, pag. 25. of his Narrative, *That the Report was wholly false and scandalous, but that on the contrary, he had received all the kind usage and civilities imaginable, from Captain Richardson the Keeper of Newgate, where he was confined all the time of his stay; and that nothing of compulsion or force was put upon him to declare any thing, but that what he did was freely and voluntarily, not byassed by any sinister end, nor out of any malice, or in wrong to any person whatsoever*: And this he declares in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of Hearts, before whose just and dreadful Tribunal he expects to appear, and begs and implores the mercy of the King of Heaven, on his sincere Repentance, for his wicked fact, and great sin committed, in being an Accessory to the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfry, as he had obtained that of his King here for the same. The third was, that being through fear and terrour made to acknowledge himself guilty, he was forced in his Conscience to deny all again, before His Majesty of Great Britain. And here indeed they have some appearance of Truth, and with it they have made a great dust, thinking by this means to blind the eyes of the people. But Mr. Prance himself in his Narrative pag. 22. and 23. so well clears that aspersion, that there can be no more said, and in my judgment renders him more strong and firm after his staggering and fluctuation: for he calls it there his imbecillity and weakness, that though he had onely for his Conscience sake made his free Confession, being awakened by the horrour of his Crimes, yet afterwards he went and declared to the King that he was Innocent, and that all those he had accused were also Innocent. Now they cry out, a man that will thus say now one thing, and then another thing, is not to be believed; and that his Evidence is nothing worth. But pag. 23. Mr. Prance says this for himself, *That the fear and terrour of death (not then having any assurance of Pardon) lying heavy upon him, and also the fear of being assassinated by the bloody and revengefull Priests and Jesuits, and also that if he should escape with Life, that he should wholly lose his Trade, and so be consequently ruined and undone, since his chief subsistence depended on the Trade he had with the Roman Catholicks, and that his Soul was not yet intirely out of the snare of Popish thralldom, induced him to think he might lawfully say, That he and all the rest were Innocent, because the horrid Crime of the Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfry had been declared by the Popish Priests to be no sin, and so in that sense they were all Innocent, though he had not since the Fact received Absolution*. And thus by the way you may observe how they all die Innocent, as themselves at the Gallows are pleas'd to say.

But then he desires you to consider, that to strengthen his first assertion, and to invalidate this act of his weakness and fear, he says, *That what he had declared concerning the Murder was solemnly and upon Oath; and this supposed Retraction, suddenly in Passion, Consternation and Fear, and not upon Oath*. Secondly, That he was no sooner carried back from the King and Council to Newgate, not being above half an hour after, but that he earnestly requested his Keeper to carry him back again, that he might justify his former Confession to be true in all Circumstances, and that what he had lately said contradictory thereto, was caused by his perplexity of mind, and the terrour he lay under; and being immediately carried back, *He denied his Recantation, and voluntarily upon Oath confirmed what he had first declared to be true*.

And afterwards falling sick whilst in Newgate, and like to die, he then expecting to die, declared and often asserted to divers his first Confession to be true in all points, as also since he recovered his health: So that 'tis very plain, all this dust which the Priests and Jesuits have raised about this matter is blown away, and Truth is become perspicuous to any ingenuous man, that will but impartially look into these transactions, and consider them as they are, and not as they are represented by their false perspectives.

This is all that I have heard to be objected as to the Witnesses, and you may judge by what I have been able to say, how frivolous it is. But these malicious persons have not onely raised objections against those persons before mentioned, who were Witnesses against these Plotters, but they also endeavour to cast an Odium on the Judges themselves, especially the Lord Chief Justice; whom they report to be a very violent and passionate man against them, triumphing in their overthrow, handling the Prisoners cruelly and hardly, daunting their Witnesses, and lashing out against them and their Religion, with many the like bitter reports: and as I have heard, they have not stuck to have sent him Letters from this side the Water, upbraiding him for walking contrary to the steps of his Predecessors in the like Cases; and have also been so impudent, as to send him a Book in the French Tongue, which endeavours to make this Plot to be contrived and laid, not by the Papists, but by the

Faction

Faction and Sectarian Parties in England. But this is *fumos vendere*, and I think that Worthy Person needs no Justification. I am satisfied, and suppose none that have read or heard the Trials of those persons condemned for the Plot, and Murther of Sir *Edmundbury Godfry*, but must remain satisfied in the fair and upright dealing of the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*, in hearing the Evidence fully on all sides, and judging justly and indifferently between the King and the Prisoners. And in this extraordinary Case, if after an impartial and legal Trial, summing up the Evidence, pressed it home to the Jury to do Justice, and if he spake something as to the Catholic Religion, and the Jesuits, and Jesuited party, that has raised these Commotions and Conspiracies, and brought those men into the snare, he ought not to be blamed; and I cannot find either in him, or those other Judges who gave Sentence of Death on the offenders, but that they did it according to Law, modestly, and without that triumphing and bitterness, as they would seem to intimate.

But to what poor shifts are these men drove to hide this abominable Plot and wicked Contrivance! when they would insinuate into the people on this side the Water, and at a distance from you, that there never was any such person as Sir *Edmundbury Godfry*, and that you in England have fram'd a story of such a Murther, taking a hint from a Town called *St. Edmunds Bury*, to make the Papists odious, and by that means to raise the malice of the people against them. This shews very much the weakness of their Cause, or rather the foulness of it, that they are forced to such narrow starting-holes to keep up their reputation here: But with you this needs no answer, that worthy Gentleman being so well known in the place where he dwelt, and was too publick a Light to be hid in obscurity under a Bushel.

To make this Discovery yet more full and evident, I find that God has brought forth of the Tower of London one Mr. *Everard*, after four years imprisonment, to give his Testimony concerning this very Plot, as appears by his Evidence and Narrative upon Oath, who there affirms what he knew of the same, and after what manner he came by it, being informed of it in *Paris*; so that coming over to *England*, for the intent of discovering what he knew concerning the same, he was clapt into the Tower, under the pretext of having some design of making an attempt against the Duke of *Monmouth's* Life, where he was kept four years a close Prisoner, without ever being brought to any Hearing or Trial; and though he had several times made some discovery of this Plot to Sir *John Robinson*, the then Lieutenant of the Tower, he either did not or would not believe any thing of it, and would give no information to His Majesty concerning the same; as may more fully appear by the Depositions of the said Mr. *Everard*: which certainly is a very great Testimony, and very much corroborates the Assertions of the other Witnesses concerned in the Plot, this man being none of the Confederacy, and so not entrusted with the horrid Intrigues thereof; yet so far knew of the same, as to have given some Light to the farther discovery of this dark design, had he not been thus subtly prevented by some of the Plotters means, who are since in custody themselves in *Ireland*, the Province where they were to Act; for both that Kingdom and *Scotland* also was at the same time to have been subverted, as well as *England*. But things were not then ripe, and God had designed to let them run on yet farther in their wickedness, that his Glory might appear more great and perspicuous, and that his mercy, and protecting care of the King, and people of *England*, might be seen in diverting and making known a Plot and Conspiracy so impending, and near taking effect, being carried on with such secrecy, skill and power so many years: but to God be given the Glory, and let the barking mouths of these Currs be stopped at last, and their endeavours to hide and to make this Plot of no account be blasted and come to nought. Amen.

Notwithstanding the Artifices of these men to support their credit here abroad, and in some measure with you also in *England*, their Complices are like to suffer for their treasonable practices. Some of the underlings have already paid for their Treason, with the forfeiture of their Lives; and the more great and formidable Plotters are like also to be called to account, and the very bottom of this horrid and hellish design like to be discovered. It is therefore now time for them to bestir themselves, and indeed to say the truth, they will leave no stone unturned, and having first endeavoured to scandalize the Evidence against them, they now try to corrupt it, and to take them off; and this they have procured a subtle Agent to effect, one *Nathaniel Reading*, who by great and fair promises of great rewards, and some Gold in hand, would have taken off Mr. *Bedlow*, one of the chief Evidence for the King against these Plotters; but I find that Mr. *Bedlow* out-witted him, and notwithstanding he was a subtle Lawyer, brought him to shame and punishment for his Crime, which certainly was of a very high Nature, and which was punctually proved against him, so that none can deny the Truth thereof. Now from this I argue, If there were no Plot, as the *Jesuits* here have endeavoured to have made us believe, why should those accused thereof seek by such unjust means of bribery to take off the Evidence against them; and to draw beforehand such matter onely for the Evidence to swear to, as might be sure not to make them guilty of Treason, and out of the danger of the Law? Innocency needs not these shifts, and this also to me, and all rational men, must needs be another proof of their Guilt; and that notwithstanding all this stir that they have made to hide their Crime, and most horrid Design, they are guilty of the same; and that there is and hath been a horrid Plot and Conspiracy.

Since you have desired me to communicate my mind fully to you, I hope you will not think me tedious in that I cannot yet leave this matter; and that I resolve as briefly as I can, to mention to you my thoughts on the several Trials of those persons Condemned, both for the Conspiracy, and for the Murther of Sir *Edmundbury Godfry*, and to let you know what here hath been said thereupon: for they have not onely endeavoured by all means and ways to bespatter and calumniate the persons of those who discovered the Plot, the Judges who gave Sentence on the Traytors, and the Witnesses against them, but also violently to speak against the Justice and legality of the Trials themselves; and so far to justify the Criminals, and those Condemned and Executed for Traytors, as if they died illegally, without apparent proofs, and Innocent, and Martyrs.

And here I cannot but admire the strange audacity of these men, that they should think to be able, with bold and lying assertions to lessen and pervert matters of fact, and things so notoriously known and acted in the face of a Nation; things not privately or clandestinely acted, but publickly and before the whole World. But what is it that these men will not attempt?

Tantum Religio potuit suadere Malorum?

'Tis for the sake of Religion, and they may doe any thing.

The first that comes upon the stage is Mr. Coleman, a leading man in this horrid Plot and Conspiracy, and a prime actor and promoter of it, by his great correspondency abroad, both at Rome and in the French Court. I have read the Trial of that person with caution and consideration; and however plain the proofs may appear to me, and to others of unbiassed judgments, yet they have had the confidence here to assert, and endeavour to impress it on the minds of the people, that nothing could be made out against this man to render him worthy of Death, or to make him guilty of Treason; and that he died innocent, a Saint, and a Martyr; and that at the Execution he utterly denied there was any such thing as a Plot, as was pretended, though he own'd himself to be indeed a zealous promoter of the *Catholic Cause*. And, as I have heard, many were so sottishly deluded with this opinion of his innocency, that they purchased at dear rates pieces of the Halter that strangled him, to keep as reliques of his Saintship. That a great argument of his innocency was, that he never endeavoured to make any escape or to fly away, having his Liberty several days after the discovery of the Plot, and his being questioned about the same.

The men who seem thus to believe nothing, and goe about to perswade others to be of their opinion, and who raise the objections and reports to cast a mist before the eyes of the people, are those no doubt whose Consciences know the contrary to what they pretend to be absolutely true, and are and have been agents and promoters of that Plot and Conspiracy they would cry down: and they cannot but know that Coleman and the rest had a fair Trial; that the proofs were home and evident against them, and that they suffer'd justly and by due course of Law. But it is their intert to seem of another mind: and notwithstanding they have endeavoured to render the Lord Chief Justice odious, and cunningly to insinuate his illegal proceedings with Mr. Coleman, those of their own party could not but acknowledge the words that I shewed them in the seventeenth Page of his printed Trial to be full of *honour and integrity*. For there speaking to Mr. Oates, who was then to be sworn as evidence against Mr. Coleman, he gives him warning to *speake nothing but the truth, not to adde the least tittle that is false for any advantage whatsoever; for that since the Prisoner's Blood and Life was at stake, he should stand or fall, be justified or condemned by Truth*. He also then puts Mr. Oates in mind of the sacredness of an Oath, and that to falsify it, and thereby to take away a man's Life, was Murther. Therefore he desired he would speak nothing but the down-right Truth, that he may not be condemned by any Circumstances, but by plain evidence of Fact; and so that not only Mr. Coleman may be satisfied in the justness of his Trial, but all people else. I think this is sufficient to manifest the uprightness of the Judge, and that Mr. Coleman had a free and legal Trial for his Life, according to the Laws of England.

But that they should so boldly and with a confident Brow assert, that nothing could be made out against him, that should render him guilty of Treason or worthy of Death, is very strange, when not only the witnesses that are brought against him do prove sufficient matter of fact, but his own Letters produced and read before his face, which he acknowledges for his own, do in plain words say, that he is about a *great work, no less then the Conversion of three Kingdoms, and the total and utter Subversion and Subduing of that pestilent Heresy the Protestant Religion, which hath reigned so long in this Northern part of the World; and for the doing of which there never was such great hopes since our Queen Marie's days as at this time*: pag. 69. Now can there be any thing more clear, then that this *subversion of a Religion* so generally received in those three Kingdoms, and so long and thoroughly established, could not be effected but by the *subversion of those three Kingdoms*, and by the *destruction of the established Laws, the Liberties, and the Lives of many thousands within those three Kingdoms*? and all this could not have been done without bringing in of forcin Force, or raising a Rebellion amongst your selves, or both. In his long Letter to Monsieur Le Chefe he says, pag. 53. *He would willingly be in everlasting disgrace with all the world, if by the assistance of 20000. li. to be obtained from the FRENCH KING, he did not regain to the DUKE his MASTER his former Offices, and especially that of being ADMIRAL of the FLEET*: and again pag. 54. he tells you for what end this design is, that it might give the greatest blow to the Protestant Religion in England that ever it received since its birth: and therefore in the conclusion of one of his Letters to Le Chefe, the French King's Confessor, he desires the power and assistance of France, which next under God he relies upon. So that his own hand convicts him of endeavouring to bring in Foreign Powers into England, to establish the Roman Catholick Religion, and to overthrow that now there established.

This was but one way to bring his designs about; the other most horrid and bloody was the taking away the Sacred Life of the King, which Mr. Oates swears against him, pag. 21. that he was privy to the Consult at the White-Horse Tavern in the Strand, wherein it was resolved, that *Groves and Pickering* should be employed to effect it, and that Mr. Coleman did approve of the same: so that by this the proof was plain against him, for by the Laws of England his assent made him equally guilty with the Assassins, there being no Accessories in Treason. And this Resolve he swears was communicated to Mr. Coleman in his hearing in *Wild-house*: and pag. 22. he swears he heard him say the design was well contrived. And pag. 24. Oates swears that Mr. Coleman knew of the four Irish Ruffians sent to Windsor to kill the King; and in his hearing asked Harcourt at *Wild-house* what care was taken for those four Gentlemen that went last night to Windsor; who replied, there was 80. li. ordered to be sent to them, which he saw, there on the Table, most part of it in Guinies; and that Mr. Coleman gave a Guiny to the Messenger who was to carry this reward, to be nimble and to expedite his

journey. Then *pag. 25.* he swears again, that Mr. Coleman was privy to the instructions sent by *White*, Provincial of the *Jesuits*, from these parts, to empower the Consulters to propose 10000 *li.* to Sir *George Wakeman* to poyson the King; and that he not onely saw and read these Instructions, but copied them out, and transmittted them to several Conspirators in this Plot within the Kingdom. And *pag. 26.* he swears, Mr. Coleman said he thought 10000. *li.* was too little, and that it would be necessary to adde 5000 *li.* more, that they might be sure to have it done. And *pag. 27.* he swears that he saw Mr. Coleman's Commission for to be Secretary of State, from the General of the Society of *Jesus*, by virtue of a Brief from the Pope; and that in *Fenwick's* Chamber in *Drury-Lane* he saw him open it, and own the receipt of it, saying it was a good exchange.

One witness is not enough in this case, but I find also Mr. *Bedlow* a second to strengthen the other's Evidence; he swears *pag. 43.* that he heard Mr. Coleman say at his own house, *That if he had an hundred Lives, and a sea of Bloud to swim through, he would spend it all to carry on the Cause of the Church of Rome, and to establish that Church in England: and if there were an hundred heretical Kings to be Deposed, he would see them all destroyed:* so that both swear to the killing of the King, and subverting the Government. I cannot find that Mr. Coleman could make any good or satisfactory defence for himself, but would have sought starting-holes and shifts to have amazed the minds of the Jury, with putting the witnesses to have proved to a day what they averr, which is in most things done, and would take that advantage, where Mr. *Oates* says *pag. 72.* he will not be positive that it was such a day; but Mr. Coleman cannot bring any positive proof that it was not that day, or that the witness contradicted himself, as he attempted to doe. And indeed though Mr. Coleman was never so wise a man, sufficient to be Secretary of State, in matters of Fact so plainly and quite blank proved against him it is a very hard matter to make a good defence, nay impossible, unless he can any ways prove the witnesses perjur'd, or some impossibility or contradiction in their Testimony, which Mr. Coleman was not able to doe. And therefore I cannot but admire that any can say he had not a fair and legal Trial, and that nothing could be made out against him worthy of death; for if knowing of this Conspiracy, of subverting Religion established by Law in the Kingdom, of an intent of murdering the King to promote that Cause, and also of endeavouring by Letters and Correspondence to engage a Foreign Power to assist to bring in this Cause, be not worthy of death, nothing is. And when such proof is made out so clearly, whatever Mr. Coleman may say at his death of his Innocency, it ought not to be believed; for he may have many evasions, and as Mr. *Prance* says in *pag. 23.* and *24.* of his Narrative, it is, according to the sense of the Jesuitical Doctrine, (I will not say *Papish*) to be Innocent, when the Priests had solemnly declared the fact they were accused of to be no sin or crime, as they look'd on this, of bringing in the *Romish* Religion by the death of an Heretical Prince, to be: or he might be Innocent having received full Absolution for the same. But what-ever he meant by those words of Justification, I believe few will ever believe him innocent of the Fact for which he was accused, that either have heard or read his Trial. And though he had the confidence to deny this Plot, hoping perhaps that it might yet take effect, things then not being so fully discovered as since; or, as I heard, expecting a Pardon or Reprieve to the last moment: yet it is now too generally received, and all the circumstances more fully appear since his death, and that he was instrumental therein. That he fled not at first for the same argues not his innocency, so much as the confidence he had, that it was not so much known as he found afterwards it was, and relying too much on the hopes of being brought off. But herein also he was deluded, and perhaps repented too late, having been heard to say with great passion at his Execution, *There is no Faith in Man.*

The next who came upon their Trial were *Ireland, Pickering, Grove, Whitebread* and *Fenwick*, being accused of this horrid Plot and Conspiracy: and though the two last were by the oath of Mr. *Oates* sufficiently proved to have a great hand in the Plot, and contrivance of the murder of the King; yet because there wanted another concurrent Testimony, they were set by till further evidence might be produced: and because these also are said to be innocent, and that the matters of fact were not proved as they ought against them, I shall briefly charge my memory with what I have read in the Printed Book of their Trials; and as it gave me full satisfaction in that case, perhaps if diligently considered it may doe the like to others.

But first I shall observe to you, because many or most of these Conspirators are Priests and Jesuits, and that *Ireland*, if not *Pickering*, is so; they have given forth abroad, and no doubt spread the same amongst the ignorant at home, that they were tried, and suffered *quatenus* Priests, upon the Statute of the 27 *Eliz.* by which Statute it is made Treason for any person that is a Subject born in *England*, to take Orders from the See of *Rome*, and afterwards to come into *England*, and remain here 40 days, and *ipso facto* for that offence he shall be found guilty, and suffer as a Traytor: so that they would endeavour to perswade the ignorant that they suffer onely as *Roman Catholics*, being Priests doing their Function, obeying the orders of their Superiours, and the dictates of their own Consciences; and not as Plotters, Traytors, and Disturbers of the Publick Peace. But that they might not fancy to themselves, that they suffered Martyrdom for their Religion, nor perswade others to the same, as many have had the vanity to believe, and others the confidence to assert, it was declared by the King's Council in open Court, that these men, though liable to be punished by that Statute, were not indicted as Priests, nor upon that Statute of 27 *Eliz.* but of a more horrid and detestable Crime, *The killing of the King, and subversion of the Government.*

And to prove this two witnesses are produced, Mr. *Oates* and Mr. *Bedlow*; and though both cannot perhaps speak to one and the same Consultation, nor to one and the same time, yet are they in Law two witnesses to one and the same Crime: for thus several witnesses to several overt Acts are so many witnesses to the Treason; and the several overt Acts which declare the Intention, are but as so many evidences of the Treason: and this was openly declared to be Law in Court, upon the Trial of these persons. And there is a great deal of reason that it should be so, for men that run the hazard of their lives in such Consultations, will hardly suffer two persons

sons to meet twice together, whom they are not well assured of, but so dispose them that they may meet severally, at several times, and in divers places, as Mr. *Oates* and Mr. *Bedlow* did.

As to the proof, Mr. *Oates* swears, pag. 19. and 20. that in a *Consult*, begun at the *White Horse Tavern* in the *Strand*, and prosecuted at the Meetings at their several Chambers, it was Resolved, that *Pickering* and *Grove* should go on in their attempt to murder the King; that *Grove* should have 1500 *l.* for his Reward, and *Pickering* 30000. Masses for his: (which at 12 *d.* a Mass comes to the same sum in their account.) And this Resolve was signed by *Whitebread*, *Fenwick* and *Ireland*, and by several others at four Clubs. He swears punctually that he saw them sign it, and carryed the Instrument from one to another, and that they signed it severally at their Chambers. He also swears, pag. 23. that *Pickering* and *Grove* accepted to murder the King on those terms, and that in his presence they took the *Sacrament* and the Oath of *Secrecy* upon it, and did agree to effect the bloody proposal. Farther, the same Deponent swears, that he saw *Pickering* and *Grove* walking in the Park at several times, watching for an opportunity of committing their bloody design of murdering his Majesty, having with them screwed Pistols, which were longer then ordinary, and furnished also with Silver Bullets: and, pag. 24. he swears that *Grove* would have the Bullets champ'd, to make the wound incurable. And farther, that in the Month of *March*, having a fair opportunity of effecting their design, the Flint in *Pickering's* Pistol being loose, he durst not make an attempt; for which negligence *Grove* was chidden, and *Pickering* received twenty or thirty strokes of Discipline, by way of Penance, for his carelessness. Page 22. he swears against *Whitebread*, that he saw his Letter, in which he expressed a great deal of Joy, that Sir *George Wakeman* had accepted the 15000 *l.* to poison the King; and also, that he was by, when *Harcourt*, another of these *Jesuits*, and *Fenwick* the Prisoner, were at a Consult, and agreed to the Proposition of *Fogarty*, of sending four Irish Ruffians to kill the King at *Windsor*, and that they were sent accordingly. And pag. 29. swears, that *Whitebread* had sealed some hundreds of Commissions, which they called Patents, to raise an Army, to be in a readiness upon the Death of the King, which Seals were then produced in Court, naming one Commission in special, which he the Deponent delivered himself to Sir *John Gage* of *Suffex*. Pag. 22. he swears against *Fenwick*, that he told him that he, the Prisoner, and three Irishmen more, fired *Southwark*, and that he had 400 *l.* for his share, and the rest 200 *l.* a piece. And pag. 20. to shew the great Malice of these men, *Whitebread* ordered Mr. *Oates* to come purposely from *S. Omars* into *England*, to Murder *D. Tongue*, for Writing the *Jesuits* Morals; and pag. 21. the same *Whitebread* sent by him Instructions, that care should be taken for the Murder of *D. Stillingfleet*, and the Bishop of *Hereford*. These are the chief things observable in Mr. *Oates* his Depositions, and which are sufficient to prove this horrid Plot.

Then the Second Witness, Mr. *Bedlow*, swears pag. 37. that he was employed for the space of near five years as a Messenger by these Conspirators for the carrying their Letters to several beyond the Seas, and returning others back, all or most relating to this Plot: for pag. 38. he swears he had a way to open the Letters and read them, whereby he fully informed himself of matters. He swears pag. 37. that he heard some of these Conspirators say, they would not leave any member of an Heretick in *England* that should survive, to tell in the Kingdom hereafter, that there ever was any such Religion in *England* as the Protestant Religion. He swears also the manner of his coming to be first employed by them, and then he brings his Brother *James Bedlow* to confirm his being their Agent or Messenger, who knew nothing of the Plot. He swears, pag. 48. and 49. his being so long employed by them, and that he had received oftentimes from these *Jesuits* and Priests several sums of money in his Brothers behalf, sometimes 50. or 60. pounds at a time: so that by this you may see Mr. *Bedlow* must be knowing in this design, employed under them so long in it. Pag. 41. He swears that about the latter end of *August* (the very day he confesses he cannot swear to) at Mr. *Harcourt's* Chamber (one of the Conspirators) he there met *Ireland*, *Pickering* and *Grove* the Prisoners, with some others, where he heard them discourse, that the four Ruffians missing of killing the King at *Windsor*, that *Pickering* and *Grove* should go on in their design, and that one *Conyers* was to be joyned with them to Assassinate the King in his Morning-walks at *New-market*. And that Mr. *Grove* was more eager or forward then the rest, saying, since it could not be done clandestinely, it should be attempted openly; and that those that do fall had the Glory to die in a good Cause: but if the Discovery should be made, it could never come to that height but their Party would be strong enough to bring it to pass. All this he swears very punctually to: and pag. 48. he farther swears that *Harcourt* told him, that *Grove* was to have 1500 *l.* for his Reward, and that *Pickering* was to have so many Masses as came to that money. And pag. 45. he swears, that at the same time he heard them discourse of the killing several noble Persons, and of several Persons that were to execute it; and in particular names one *Knight* assigned to kill the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, *Pritchard* the Duke of *Buckingham*, *O-Neal* the Earl of *Offory*, and *O-Brian* the Duke of *Ormond*. So that by these two Testimonies the Evidence is very full against *Ireland*, *Pickering* and *Grove*.

The Defence they have to make against this, is first, the denial of the Fact, though they can bring no Witnesses to make any thing out but their own Affeверations: but they who can have a Dispensation for the breaking of any Oath, may be easily indulged for the telling of a lie to save their Lives, and to keep off a Scandal from their profession. In the next place, they would endeavour to seem not to know Mr. *Oates*, and make as if they had scarce seen him: to this he swears by many several circumstances, which they are forced to acknowledge; and pag. 32. swears *Fenwick* was his Father Confessor. But *Ireland* raised some little appearance of contradiction or mistake in Mr. *Bedlow's* Evidence, for he brings two or three to prove, pag. 56, 57. that he was not in *London* all the month of *August*, Mr. *Bedlow* swearing that he was at the Consult held at *Harcourt's* Chamber, in the latter end of *August*, concerning the Death of the King. And indeed two positively say the contrary, and that he was from the third of *August* to the first or second of *September* in *Staffordshire*, and *Westchester*, and by circumstance that he was in the beginning of *September* at *Wolverhampton*. But were this granted, that he should mis-

take in the point of Time, yet this is nothing as to the matter of Fact expressly sworn against them, and so destroys not the Evidence, unless it were necessary to the substance of the thing: for this Meeting and Treasonable Contrivance might be some days or weeks after, and so true. And though such a mistake may somewhat weaken the Evidence in the opinion of the Jury, it ought not to invalidate the truth of the thing it self, which may be true in substance, though not in circumstance of Time. But against the asseverations of these Persons, there is the Oath of Mr. *Bedlow*, who swears it positively; and besides, Mr. *Oates* pag. 60. swears positively, that ten days at least within *August* he was with him at *Fenwick's* Chamber in *London*, and that in the beginning of *September*, either the first or second day, he was to his knowledge in *London*, and that he had 20 s. of him. Then a third person is produced, that had been *Grove's* Maid-servant, who very well knew *Ireland*, and she swears positively, and by good circumstances, pag. 57, and 58. that she saw him at a Scriveners Door in *Fetter-Lane*, where he lodged, about the twelfth or thirteenth of *August*. So that these three concurrent Testimonies might very well be credited by the Jury in this case, and make them justly bring in their Verdicts, as they did, Guilty, without any demur or hesitation. As for *Pickering* and *Grove*, they could not make any defence, besides the denial of all that was sworn against them to be true, and that they were innocent and not guilty.

And now let all the world judge who are to be believed in this case, and admire at the obstinacy of these men, who shall deny so clear evidence against them to the last gasp, and die in their Impenitency; and at those wicked ones also, that shall secretly and slanderously go about to make the world believe, that these men had not Justice done them, and that they died Innocent and Martyrs.

I find my Letter swells to a bigger bulk than I intended, therefore I shall be as brief as I can in mentioning the Tryals of those who had a hand in the murder of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, which was as punctually prov'd against them as could be; for in the case of Felony, by the Laws of *England*, one sufficient Witness for the King is enough, though here you shall find a very plain concurrent Evidence, and the whole streffs lies not upon Master *Prance*, who was one of the Assistants at the Murther.

The persons accused and convicted for this Murther were, *Robert Green*, *Henry Berry*, and *Laurence Hill*, Laymen, who suffer'd for the same; others concerned were Mr. *Prance*, who confessed the Fact, had the King's Pardon, and was the Accuser; besides *Kelly* and *Girald*, Priests, who assisted in the Murther, and who are fled, and some others, knowing of, and abetting the same, are also fled. The first thing that is proved by two Witnesses, pag. 12. and 13. is that one of the Motives that these persons might have to murder this Knight, was, because of his forwardness in discovering the Plot; and to this Mr. *Oates* swears, that this Knight *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* told him he had been threatened by several persons, for being so active in that Discovery, and that he told him that he went in fear of his Life by the Popish party for doing his Duty, being a Justice of the Peace, and that he had been dogg'd several days. Mr. *Robinson* a man of Credit, and of the Knight's long acquaintance, swears also to the same effect, and pag. 14. That *Sir Edmundbury* said to him, That he did believe in his Conscience, that he should be the first Martyr, and that the depth of the Plot was not yet found out. By this we may see the reason that these men had to murder this Gentleman, hoping by his death to hinder the Discovery of the Plot, it being then very young, and hardly credited, he having the chief Depositions in his hand; or to deter others from being active or meddling in the business, seeing the Revenge they had taken upon him for the same; or out of Malice and Revenge to the Man, for being active in discovering their Villany, and bringing to light their wicked deeds.

The next Witness is Mr. *Prance*, who swears, pag. 14. that *Girald* and *Kelly*, two Priests, first drew him into this Murther, he being a Roman Catholick, (as all the rest were, except *Berry*, who said he died a Protestant, and feigned himself otherwise for a livelihood, which I can hardly believe) telling him it was no Sin, but a charitable Act, and that he was a busy man, and had done a great deal of mischief: and so they told the rest: and this was at an Alehouse, at the sign of the Plough, about a fortnight before this Gentleman was murdered. He swears also, that they had dogg'd him into several places, to get an opportunity of murdering him; and that on the *Saturday* (the twelfth of *October*) about seven of the Clock in the Evening, *Green* and *Hill*, having dogg'd him into a House at *S. Clements*, not far from *Somerfet-House*, where he was murdered, *Hill* stay'd to watch his motion, and *Green* came to *Prance* his House, to call him to assist them, and that he immediately went to *Somerfet-House*, where were *Girald*, *Kelly*, *Green* and *Berry*, and that about nine of the Clock, *Hill* came before, to give them notice of the approach of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, it being in his way to his own House, that *Hill* went up to the Gate to watch for the coming by of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, and by a wile to draw him within the Gate, pretending two men to be a quarrelling, and desiring his presence to part them, he being a Justice of the Peace. That this Gentleman being at last perswaded to do that good office, followed *Hill* within the Gate, till he came to the bottom of the Rails, when *Green*, coming behind him, flung a twisted Handkerchief about his Neck, and threw him down behind the Rails, where, assisted by *Girald*, *Kelly* and *Hill*, they strangled him. Pag. 16. and 17. Mr. *Prance* swears he was not by at the Action, for *Hill* ordered him to watch at the Water-gate, and *Berry* at the Stairs, that none might come in the mean time to interrupt them, and that after a little while, that he thought they might have dispatched him, he went to them, and found the four before mentioned standing about the Body, and *Green* boasted to him, how well he had done it, and that the rest told him the manner of their effecting it, and that *Green*, thinking him not quite dead, gave him several punches on his Breast with his Knee, and twisted his Neck about, and that presently after *Berry* also came to them. And pag. 18. he swears they all six help'd to carry him up a pair of Stairs, into a certain Room in the House where *Hill* lay, where the Body lay till Monday night, and was then removed into *Somerfet House*, and on Monday night he was shewn the Body by *Hill*, with a dark Lanthorn, *Girald*, *Hill* and *Kelly* being by; and on Tuesday night the Body was carried back to *Hill's* Lodging, where it first lay, but not into the same Room, but one over

against

against it; and about nine of the Clock on the Wednesday night, they removed it to the Room where it first lay; he being there when they removed it, pag. 19. and that about twelve a Clock that night, a Sedan being brought by Hill, they all put the Body into it, and that Berry at the sign of a hem that was given opened for them the upper Gate of the upper Court; that he, Mr. Prance, and Girald the Priest (now the Porter) first carried the Sedan, Green and Kelly going before; and pag. 20. he swears they carried it to Covent-Garden, where they rested, and that then Green and Kelly took their turns, and carried it to Long-Acre, then Prance and Girald carried it to So-Hoe Church, where Hill met them with an Horse, and that they then took the Body up and set it before Hill on the Horse, who held him up, and that Kelly, Girald and Green went along with him, and that he the Deponent then left them to return home, for fear of raising a suspicion. But he swears that the next day, they, Hill, Kelly and Girald, told him how they had disposed of the Body: first that they had run him through with his own Sword, then thrown him into a Ditch, and laid his Gloves and other things upon the Bank. Pag. 22. he swears that they had all agreed to the Murder of this Gentleman, having had more than one Meeting about it, and that the first that met him was to give notice to the rest; that there was a considerable Reward to be given among them for doing it, and that it was to come from (as they told him) the Lord Bellasis. And also, that Girald was resolved to kill him that night, and if he could not get him in a more convenient place, he would kill him with his own Sword, in the Street that leads to his own House.

Judge now, whether all this be not punctually proved by one Witness, which is as much as the Law requires in this case: however, that these persons might not have any the least excuse that they had not Justice done them, and to satisfy the whole world that they were not condemned onely upon the Testimony of Mr. Prance, I find other strong concurrent Witnesses, that by many circumstances corroborate his Evidence; among the which Mr. Bedlow is one, who swears, pag. 28. that he had been several times treated, with by Le Faire, Prichard, Keins, and other Priests, about murdering a certain Gentleman they would not name, about the beginning of that October this Gentleman was murdered, and desired him also (not telling him the reason) to get into the Acquaintance of Sir Edmundbury Godfry; and that he did so: and pag. 30. he swears, that very Morning Sir Edmundbury was murdered, at the Pallgrave Head Tavern Le Faire told him, that there was a Gentleman that very Night to be put out of the way, a very material Man, that had all the Informations that Mr. Oates and D. Tongue had given in; that several had been employed in the doing of it, and that several attempts had been made, and that they had missed several Opportunities, but that now it was to be done, for if he were not taken out of the way, the Plot would by his means go near to be fully Discovered, so that they should not be able to bring their Delign to pass; but would not discover to him the name of the party: and also, that there was 4000*l.* Reward to those that did it, and no worse man then the Lord Bellasis had engaged for the payment of it. Upon which he swears, that he promised to engage in it, and to meet him that night at Somerset House, but that he went not according to his promise, knowing they had a delign to murder some body: then, pag. 31. he swears farther, that he saw him not till the Monday night following, and then he was charged for his breach of promise; to which Mr. Bedlow replied, he would not engage in the Murder of any private Person, till he knew who he was, because he might be his particular Friend. That Le Faire bid him meet him exactly at nine of the Clock that night in the Cloysters at Somerset House, which he did, and that then he told him, that he had done ill that he did not help in the business, but that if he would help to carry the dead person off, he should have half the Reward. That then he asked if he was murdered, and Le Faire answered yes: and upon his desire to see the party, he took him by the hand, and led him through a dark Entry into a Room, where he saw several persons, where they had a small Light in a middle-jiz'd Lanthorn, by which he saw a Corps, over which something was thrown, and one stepping to the Body threw off the thing that lay upon him, and he went and look'd upon him, and knew him presently to be Sir Edmundbury Godfry. And pag. 32. swears that they then told him that they had strangled him; and that the Cravatte about his Neck was so strait he could not get his Finger in between it and his Neck. That they did not think that he knew him, but told him that he was one that belonged to a Person of Quality. That he would have persuaded them to have tyed Weights to his Head and Feet, and to have flung him into the Thames. But they did not think that so safe, but answered, No, they would put the Murder upon himself. Then asking how they would get him out, Le Faire answered in a Chair, and that Berry the Porter was to sit up to let them out. That he then told them that about eleven or twelve of the Clock would be the best time to carry him forth, and Le Faire then made him promise upon the Sacrament, that he took on the Thursday before, to come and help to carry him off at that hour; for after the Discovery of the Plot, he swears, the Sacrament was administred to him twice a week to conceal it. He also swears, that he did not go, but went away for Bristol, and that upon the great trouble and disturbance in his Conscience for this Murder and horrid Plot, he revealed the same, &c. That upon his not coming they desisted from carrying out the Body that night, and for fear lest he should discover them, he supposed they caused it to be removed.

Mr. Bedlow also swears, pag. 33. that he never had any discourse with Mr. Prance, from the time that he saw him with the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfry that night in Somerset House, and that seeing him in the Lobby, being taken upon suspicion onely, he knew him again, and accused him for the Murder of that Gentleman. And pag. 23. Mr. Prance swears, that he never had any conference with Mr. Bedlow in all his Life, which extremely strengthens the Evidence, and that there could be no Conspiracy between them, to invent a Story with so many agreeing circumstances. Then pag. 35. they prove, that Sir Edmundbury's Body was found in the Ditch just as they had related it to Mr. Prance, and also the dislocation of his Neck, the struggling, and contusion of his Breast with some blows, and that the Wound made by the Sword could not be the occasion of his death, by able Chirurgions: with several other circumstances too long to remember now. So that all the circumstances are proved as much as is possible by two several Witnesses, not knowing, or ever discoursing one another: so that it

would be the strangest Miracle in the world, that they should both agree in so many untrue Circumstances. Had they laid their heads together to contrive this Story, which is impossible they should do without discoursing with one another beforehand, yet, there being so many other several Witnesses, to prove several other circumstances, as their meeting at *Bow* at the Ale-house, and the Maid swearing that *Hill* was at *Sir Edmundbury Godfry's* House, and spake with him that morning he was murdered, and that he had the same Cloaths on which he had then at the Bar, *pag. 39.* they also must be thought to have conspired with them, to take away the Life of two or three men without any provocation or reward; a thing so unlikely, that it cannot enter into the thought of any rational man; nor can any Christian believe, so many could joyn together to invent so horrid a lie, to take away mens lives for nothing: nay if it were granted they might, I cannot believe they could have contrived so many several circumstances without the least variation, and without being intrapped by so many wise and judicious men who sifted them; and the more, because of the strange obstinacy and denial of the Criminals. Having therefore seriously considered all things, I cannot but admire that any in *England* should doubt of the Guilt of these Murderers.

All I can find of any weight in their Defences for themselves is of little consideration to invalidate such strong proofs. That they all denied it very stoutly to the last is true, but that is of no value against such plain Evidence, and but aggravates their Crime. *Hill* would have invalidated *Mr. Prance* his Testimony because he had deny'd it: but that has already been cleared, and could no ways legally take off his Evidence, for he was no ways perjur'd. But then to evade the matter, he brings several Witnesses, all of his own Religion, to aver he was never from his Lodgings after nine of the Clock at night: but these do it so mincingly and generally, that no stress can be laid upon them, it being proved that they had several Keys to the Door, and that *Hill* might go in and out without their knowledge, and one of his Witnesses makes but a mistake of a whole month, *pag. 55.* and two of *Green's* Witnesses a whole week, *pag. 66.* so ill had they calculated the Time which they intended to speak to. There is nothing that can be thought to be of any moment in all that the Witnesses said in behalf of the Prisoners, but what the Souldiers say in behalf of *Berry*, *pag. 68.* and *69.* who were placed at the Gate Sentinels, and they say that they saw a Sedan come in, so far they agree with the King's Evidence, but then they confidently aver none went out all that night. But what is this to the matter of Fact, and to the Murder committed sworn in all circumstances so punctually to? for the Sentinel might be from his post, and *Mr. Prance* says (who knew of the Contrivance) *pag. 16.* of his printed Narrative of this Murder, that *Berry* had beforehand got the Sentinel into his House to drink, that he might not see the Sedan go out; and the Sentinel knowing he had committed a great fault by so doing, was so wise, though not very honest, to conceal it. And this is the most of colour they could produce that might any ways cause the least hesitation, and how far this single Testimony will go to invalidate a Testimony so full, and not any ways to be contradicted, let the world judge; I must confess it has given me full satisfaction, and I hope will give the like to all others, who are impartial men, that shall read the same.

I must indeed declare that it seems somewhat strange, that nothing should work upon these men to acknowledge their Crime at their death; but that they should take it upon their Salvation, that they died Innocent of this Murder they suffer'd for, as the Child that was newly born. But I fear they were under some horrid delusion, and were so charm'd and bound up by so many Oaths and Sacraments, by their Ghostly Fathers the *Jesuits*, who had brought them to this, that they durst not acknowledge the Truth, or that they thought by this means they should do great service to the *Romish* Church, and be Sainted for it in Heaven. And the Printed Account of *Hill's* Confession seems to make it plain, for there was found in his pocket after he was executed a very formal Confession, written not with his own hand, neither had he Pen, Ink or Paper all the time he was in Prison, and his Wife witnessed it was not her Husband's hand. How he came by it none could tell, but it was very formally drawn, and in which I observe he stoutly denies the Fact, and calls God and Angels to witness his Innocency, and that he is wrongfully put to death, and for that cause cites all such as had a hand in his death, and particularly the *Lord Chief Justice*, with the Jury and Witnesses, &c. shewing a very wicked and uncharitable Spirit in the Indictor, for I suppose this was given to *Hill* to con against the time of his Execution, and of which Lesson he repeated as much as he could remember. So that I cannot but believe the obstinacy of these men proceeds from the *Jesuits*, for it is plain this Writing was prepared for him by some other, and not by himself.

I shall also inform you of another trick invented by these men. Upon the general report of the Plot, in some parts more remote from us, and where the Informations were uncertain, lest it should spread farther, they had framed a formal Writing, as under the Hand and Seal of a Person of Quality, with several other pretended Authentick Witnesses, which was shewn about in several Borough-Towns, and noted places, as a Certificate to inform the people that there was no such Plot in *England*, as had been invented by divers factious and seditious people, to the scandal of divers peaceable people of the *Romish* Faith in *England*, and that there had been no such person murdered as had been reported to be, and that there was not any such person at all as *Sir Edmundbury Godfry*, and that these reports were wholly false and all lies, raised by malicious and factious people, to cause uproars in *England*, and to disquiet the peace of the King and Kingdom, and such like stuff: which I hear has done them notable service to take off the credit of the report of this horrid Plot, among the ignorant and vulgar people: but, as I hear, some have sent Letters purposely to the Recorder of *London* to be certified of the Truth of this.

Besides all these Tryals and positive proofs of a most horrid and desperate Plot, deeply laid and vigorously prosecuted, whereby the Plot very manifestly appears to all men of sense and reason, and they must be wilfully blind, or desperately deluded, that will not give credit to what hath been so solemnly sworn, and so openly made known, the Narrative published by *Mr. Oates* being 81. Articles, all sworn to, and deposed by him, before

Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* when alive, and since, before the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, doth yet more manifestly set out the grounds and manner of this Plot, the progress and discovery thereof, so fully, amply, and with so many concurrent Circumstances, that it is the strangest thing in the world any should question the verity and reality of the same; whereas none appears that can intrap him in contradictions, or disprove what he hath sworn to, and when he is backt by the testimony of others: that yet I say any should be stagger'd with the confidence and obtinacy of a few dying Traytors, and the whispering perswasions of the *Jesuits* against the testimony of their own eyes and ears, against both sense and reason it self, 'tis strange, and wonderfully strange, and makes me think that they are infatuated, or strangely deluded.

For it is plain, that the design extended as well into *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as through *England*; and Mr. *Oates* swears positively in the first Article, that one *Wright*, *Ireland* and *Morgan* were sent into *Scotland* under the notion, and in the disguise of Non-Conformist Ministers, to preach up the Covenant; and to promote Rebellion by that means: and Article. 11. he swears that Letters were sent to *S. Omars*; and to *Leshee* the King of *France* his Confessour, which Letters he had seen and read, which gave an account that their Emiffaries in *Scotland* had stirred up the Presbyterians there into a Rebellion, and that 20000 would be in Arms if his Majesty of *France* would break with the King of *England*. And Article. 35. deposes; that he was by at a Conference with the *Jesuits* in *London*, wherein they read the Order from the Provincial for the sending new Messengers into *Scotland*, to promote the Combuitions there; and this was in *July* last. And Article. 43. he farther swears, that on the 5. of *August* two were sent away for *Scotland*, the one named Father *Moor*, the other *F. Saunders* alias *Brown*, (for they have usually divers names) with full instructions how to behave themselves as Non-Conformist Ministers; and to preach to the disaffected *Scots* the necessity of taking up the Sword for the defence of Liberty of Conscience: and these the Deponent saw dispatch'd. And Article. 74. swears he saw Letters from *White* the Provincial, dated at *S. Omars* 4. of *Sept.* New Style, which gave an account to *Rich. Blandell*; that 12 more *Jesuits* of that Nation were sent into *Scotland*, by order of the General of the Society, with full instructions how to behave themselves like Non-Conformist Ministers among the Presbyterian *Scots*; and that they had 1000 *li.* given them by *Leshee* the French King's Confessour: so that we may easily perceive by what means the Rebellion of *Scotland* is promoted.

As to *Ireland*, where they have a far greater interest, they had sufficient means and preparations there to stir up the *Irish* of their own Religion, and under their thraldome and command, to Rebel. And Article 18. Mr. *Oates* deposes, Letters came from the Archbishop of *Dublin* *Talbot*, which Letters he saw and read at *S. Omars*, bearing date *Jan. 1.* 1678. New Style, which gave an account how vigilant they had been in that Kingdom, to prepare the people to rise for the defence of their Religion and Liberty, and to recover their Estates, and that they would open a place there to receive the King of *France* his Army when he should think fit to land them, and advised them to confer with *Leshee* the French King's Confessour about the same. And he farther deposes, that Letters were thereupon sent to *Leshee* about the same, who returned Answers by the same Messengers, *Newill* and *Busby*, one being Prefect of the Studies, and the other Procurator to the Seminary, one of which to the Rectour of *S. Omars*, *Richard Ashby*, the Deponent saw, which gave an account that the Father General of the Society would contribute 800000 Crowns, to be paid in the month of *June* next ensuing, and that his Holiness the Pope would not be wanting to supply them when they had made some progress in that glorious attempt. And Article 21. he there deposes, that he likewise saw Letters of *Feb. 1.* 1678. New Style, from *Whitebread*, *Keines*, *Ireland*, *Micho* and the rest, to *Richard Ashby* Rectour of *S. Omars*, to let him understand that they had sent *William Morgan* and *F. Lovell* into *Ireland*, to see how affairs stood in that Kingdom; and that they had instructions given them to encourage the *Irish* Natives to defend their Religion and Liberty; and that they carried with them 2000 *li.* to supply their present wants, and order to promise 4000 *li.* more in case there should be any Action. And Article 27. he farther deposes, that in the month of *April* following, he saw the Letters which *Whitebread* and the rest of the *Jesuits* in *London* sent to *Richard Ashby* Rectour, and those of the Seminary at *S. Omars*; in which they gave them an account that *Morgan* and *Lovell* were returned out of *Ireland*, who gave them to understand, that the *Irish* were ready to rise at 10 days warning with 20000 Foot and 5000 Horse, and would let in the Army of the French King if he would land there; and also that in the North of *Ireland*, 15000 Horse and Foot were in a readiness to rise, and that they were also very resolute; and also that there were arrived Commissions from the General of the Society, by virtue of a Brief from the Pope, dated *Oct. 1.* 1673. to several persons, and that they once more resolved to cut the throats of the Protestants when they should rise.

Thus we may perceive what provision they had made, and how well prepared they were in those Kingdoms, to effect their horrid Plot and Conspiracy: but that they might leave no stone untunn'd, and that they might every-where work the destruction of the Protestants, I find Article. 38. Mr. *Oates* swears, that he saw and read at Mr. *Fenwick's* Chamber in *London*, on the 11. of *August*, Letters from *S. Omars*, from the Provincial *Whitebread*, that he had ordered 12 *Jesuits* to goe to *Holland*, to inform the Dutch privately, that the Prince of *Orange* did intend to assume the Crown, and to be their King, and to bring them under his Government: which was to beget an evil opinion of the Prince of *Orange* in the Dutch, and so to cause a commotion against the Prince and his Party. Also Article. 56. he farther deposes, that the Letters came from the said *Whitebread* and the rest, to *John Fenwick* and the rest; which Letters he also saw and read dated 20. *Aug.* New Style, which gave account that the 12 *Jesuits* were safely arrived in *Holland*, and were using all their skill and interest to make a Commotion there; and that *Appletree Will* (by which they meant the Prince) should not be great there, urging the Fathers in *London* to mind their business.

By all this you may perceive the general ruine of the Protestants was laid, and the large extent of this Plot. Three Kingdoms at once were to be in a Flame, and the Neighbouring Provinces to be put into a Combuition.

But

But this Plot had been several years a hatching, and if Mr. Oates swears truth, (as there is no scruple to be raised but he does, for ought I can see by any objection raised against him) we now know the manner and Authours of the great and famous Fire of London 1666. for *Artic. 34.* he deposes, that she had it from the mouth of *Richard Strange*, who had been Provincial of the *Jesuits*, who told him, that this Fire had been several times attempted by him and others in the years 1664, and 1665, being assisted by one *Green*, and 8 others, under the notion of Fifth Monarchy men; but that failing, and some of them being laid in *Newgate*, they desisted till 1666: when they fully effected it, by his means, and by the assistance of *Gray*, *Pennington* and *Barton* *Jesuits*, and *Keimash* a Dominican Frier, with one *Fitz-Gerald* an *Irish Jesuite*, and one *Neal* of *White-Chappel*, and 50 or 60 *Irish-men*, hired for that purpose to ply the work, and sling about the Fire-Balls; and that one *Everard* kept them for them, being one then in the King's Service, and look'd after the Ammunition that was carrying down to the Fleet in the *Dutch War*. That this *Strange* went then by the name of *Walker*, and lay in *Fenchurch-street*, and with him lay *Keimash* the *Dominican*; that *Pennington* and *Barton* lay in *Shoe-lane*, and that *Gray* and *Fitz-Gerald* lay at *Neal's* house in *White-Chappel*, which *Neal* was one that was to see the Fire carried along *Thames-street*: and also that as soon as the Fire was begun, the said *Neal* knockt them up, and gave them notice about 12 a clock in the night, and that there were in all about 80 or 86 persons employed in the service, and that 700 Fire-Balls were spent in the service; and also that they had others, both men and women, who were employed to plunder, and that they got in Jewels, Plate, Fine Linens, Money, and other things to the value of 14000 *li.* and that they had a Ware-house in *Wild-street* to lay up such goods, with many other particulars: so that you may now see by what means that famous Fire was effected.

Then *Artic. 49.* the same Deponent swears, that he had it from *John Grave's* own mouth, in *Wild-House Garden*, that he with 3 *Irish men*, having purposely prepared certain Fire-Works, went into the Borough of *Southwark*, where finding an Oyl-Shop, they set it on Fire, and that they had among them 1000 *li.* reward, that these *Irish-men* were procured by *Dr. Fogarthy*, and that they got 2000 *li.* by that Fire; the same being also told to the Deponent at another time by *Richard Strange*.

This is not sufficient, they had designed another general Fire, as the Deponent swears, *Artic. 71.* that one *Blundell*, that was engaged in this Conspiracy, shewed him in *Fenwick's Chamber* a draught of London, and the manner how it was to be fired anew, and to be carried on from *Wapping* to *Westminster*, or from *Westminster* to *Wapping*, according as the wind fate, and named the several parties, who were to carry it on from place to place; and that the Deponent, with 7 others, had order to ply the business about the *Armitage*, and for his reward he was to have 1000 *li.* and 80 *li.* more for former services; and this paper was signed by *Whitebread* in the name of the whole Society. And *Artic. 77.* he swears, that *Richard Blundell*, after that the Deponent had begun to be discovered to desert them, was appointed to supply his place, and to take care of carrying on the Fire at *Wapping* in his room.

These must be very strange and formal inventions of Mr. Oates his framing, or horrid and black designs of these mens effecting; and certainly it appears by all the agreeing Circumstances that the latter is true, and that there appears nothing to make the first likely, but the stout denial of those who suffer'd for the same. *Artic. 28.* he swears, that to the number of 50 *Jesuits* met at the Consult at the *White-horse Tavern* in the *Strand*, being on purpose called by *Whitebread*, for the effecting this Plot and horrid Conspiracy, now brought almost to an head; and that from thence they all adjourned to several Clubs, or private Meetings, at their several Chambers. And *Artic. 72.* he deposes, that the Pope had issued out a Bull, shewed to him the 30. of *August*, and bearing date in *November* or *December* before, wherein he disposes of several dignitaries in *England*, and there are named the several *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, *Abbats*, *Deans*, &c. He also gives you a list of the chief of the Conspiratours pag. 58. both of the *Jesuits*, and the other Orders of *Priests*, *Secular* and *Lay persons*, both in *England* and beyond the Seas, concerned in this most horrid Conspiracy: and also pag. 61. gives you a list of the several Lords, and other Commanders or general Officers, Colonels, Captains, &c. in the *Militia*, making a full and ample discovery of the same, to the great satisfaction of all people, excepting those that are wilfully blind; and no doubt to the great trouble and consternation of the Conspirators. And indeed it was no wonder, that the Provincial *Whitebread* was so very angry and enraged against him, as he deposes *Artic. 77.* and that when they had begun to suspect Mr. Oates, upon the first noise of the discovery of a Plot, he ask'd him with what face he could look on him having betrayed them, and box'd him and caned him in his passion, having thereupon taken an order for the sending him the Deponent immediately beyond the Seas to secure him; which they had done, had he not hid himself out of the way, and been secured ever since from their Clutches. 'Tis very strange that after all this, any, in *England* especially, shall openly say, and seem to averr, that this is no Plot, but a feigned thing and Chimæra.

But it is too manifest, and you ought to give God thanks, and solemnly to acknowledge his great care and mercy to your Nation, Government, and Religion; and also to reward those who have been the instruments of this discovery, what-ever they were before, for by *sin grace doth abound*. Much blood and many murders have been prevented, which it is plain they intended; for otherwise they could not have effected their design: and more especially the Death of his Sacred Majesty was aimed at and contrived by these wicked and execrable men, as appears by these Depositions of Mr. Oates; and they had contrived several ways to doe it, either to Stab him, Shoot him, or Poison him. For the first they had chosen *Conyers* and *Anderton*, *Benedictine Monks*, and four *Irish Ruffians*; for the second *Groves* and *Pickering* are prepared; and for the last *Wakeman* is hired. *Artic. 13.* the Deponent swears, he saw and read the Letter from *Whitebread* and others the chief of the Society, wherein they gave order that Father *Leshee* should be wrote to, and informed, that they were resolved, for the advancement of their happy design, to find an opportunity to take the King from his Kingdom: or if they could not do that,

they

they would take his Kingdom from him. And *Artic. 29.* not long after the great Consult at *London* about murdering the King, *Whitebread* being then come to *S. Omars*, he the Deponent heard him say in his Chamber on the 11. of *June* to this effect, That he hoped to see the King laid fast enough, for that he was grown secure, and would hear no complaints against them. *Artic. 68.* Mr. *Oates* likewise swears, that *Conyers* employed by these Jesuits to stab the King, shewed the Deponent the Dagger which he had bought on purpose to effect it, and cost him 10 s. declaring the manner how he intended to effect it at *Windsor*; and (mark the great Providence of God in preserving the Life of His Majesty) that being on his way thither, with this bloody design in his heart, his Horse fell lame, that he was forced to return, being almost five miles on his way. The several other attempts upon the Life of His Sacred Majesty by *Groves*, *Pickering*, and the *Ruffians*, and the intention of *Wakeman*, and reward, to poison him, were spoke to before, and sufficiently evidenced.

Thus having given you at large an account of my Thoughts concerning this horrid Plot and bloody Conspiracy, with the reasons and proofs that appeared sufficient to convince me, and to make me believe that these Traytors that have suffered were guilty, and justly deserved the punishment the Laws inflicted upon them for the same, and which has in some measure convinced others, who have seen and read them; I shall conclude with my Prayers for the prosperity of the King and the whole Nation, that the one may enjoy an happy Peace, Liberty and Prosperity; and that the other may continue with long life and all manner of felicity; and that the care and providence of Heaven will protect them both from all evil Conspirators, and wicked Plotters; and that God will work upon the hearts of some of those who are yet in Prison for this Conspiracy, and ere it be too late, cause them to make a generous and free Confession of the whole design, that the world may be better satisfied, and that there may be no scruple left of the verity of these things. And I also hope it will be the care of the *Parliament*, when they meet, to goe on with their good intention of securing the Nation for the time to come, and the Person of His Sacred Majesty, from the Machinations and Conspiracies of the *Jesuits* and their Emisaries; by not onely reviving all the penal Laws in that Case, but by making others that may give a certain security to the Peace of the Nation. I will not stand to beg your pardon, since your commands drew on you the trouble of this long Letter; and therefore I shall onely tell you, that I am,

Sir,

*S. Omars, June 24.
New Style.*

Your Humble Servant,

D. G.

An APPENDIX to the foregoing Letter.

THE foregoing Letter being wrote and received before the Trials of the five *Jesuits*, last executed upon the account of the horrid Plot and Conspiracy, and of Mr. *Langborn* for the same, and being thought by some judicious persons, and lovers of the peace and welfare of their Country, fitting to be published for the satisfaction of the people; the strange obstinacy and denial of these five *Jesuits*, *Whitebread*, *Harcourt*, *Fenwick*, *Gawin*, and *Turner*, at their Execution, calling God and Angels to witness of their innocency, and taking it upon their salvation, that they were falsely accused, and knew nothing of any such Plot as is pretended against them, having made a strange impression upon the minds of some ignorant, and some well-minded people, who cannot believe they could go out of the world with such a lie in their mouths, to the damnation of their Souls, I thought it requisite to abbreviate also the Trials of these men, that the truth may appear, that they had a just, equal, and legal Trial; and that they could not be guiltless and unknowing of this horrid Plot, as they pretend, but were legally and by full proof condemned for the same: for that many people will not go to the price of their Trials, that would however give six-pence to be satisfied. And therefore I shall follow the same method my Friend at *S. Omars* did in the foregoing Trials, and point out to the plain proof and evidence in the printed Trials more fully expressed. But I also advertise, that here you shall find some evidence that has since come to light, and has made things yet more apparent.

First, take notice that these Priests and Jesuits are not tried upon the Statute of 27 *Eliz.* which would have made them guilty for being in Orders, and remaining here in *England*; but they are tried as Traytors in conspiring the death of the King's Majesty, and the utter subversion of the Protestant Religion, and the bringing in of Popery, which was the end of this great Plot: and now judge how it is proved against them.

The Evidences are long and tedious, but the main proof and what is positive appears, first against Mr. *Whitebread* pag. 12. where Mr. *Oates* swears, that in *April* 1678. Old Style, or *May* New Style, according to the order of the said *Whitebread* Provincial, there was a Consult, in which were *Whitebread*, *Fenwick*, *Harcourt* and *Turner*; and that all these did in his presence sign the resolve for the death of the King. Against these four he swears positively: and that *Whitebread* should say after he was returned to *S. Omars*, in the Deponent's hearing, words to this effect, That he hoped to see the King's Head laid fast enough. And pag. 16. he swears, that *Fenwick* on the 25. of *August* (78.) at his Chamber in *London*, did deliver Mr. *Oates* some money for necessary charges, and did then admonish him to procure some Masses to be said for a prosperous success upon the Design. Then pag. 22. he swears, that *Turner* was at the Consult in *Fenwick's* Chamber in *London*, and that

there he saw him sign the resolve of the King's Death. And pag. 15. he swears against *Gawen*, that though he did not see him at the Consult in *April*, yet he saw his hand, and makes it out how he knew it to be his hand; and that he gave them in *London* an account how affairs stood in *Staffordshire* and *Shropshire* *July* 1678. and how the Lord *Stafford* was very diligent, and how prosperous their affairs were in those Countries, and that there was two or three thousand pound ready there to carry on the design; and farther swears, that sometime in *July* he met *Gawen* at Mr. *Ireland's* Chamber in *London*, where he gave to Father *Ireland* the same account as he had before written, in his hearing.

The next thing I observe is a new Evidence, one Mr. *Dugdale*, whom the prisoners do not endeavour to bespatter as they had done Mr. *Oates* and *Bedlow*: and this man had no knowledge or acquaintance with Mr. *Oates* and *Bedlow*, and could not conspire with them to take away the Lives of men that were innocent. You will see how far he agrees with them, and what a positive proof he is against the prisoners. Pag. 22. Mr. *Dugdale* swears against *Whitebread*, that he saw a Letter from him to Mr. *Emers* a *Jesuit*, and Confessour to Mr. *Dugdale*, in which he gave him a caution, to be sure to chuse those that were truly and resolute, no matter whether they were Gentlemen, if stout and courageous: and then shews how he knew it to be *Whitebread's* hand. And this he swears too again, that he saw the words in expresse terms under his hand pag. 29. to kill the King. Against *Gawen* he swears positively, that he entertained him to be of the Conspiracy to murder the King, as one of those resolute fellows mentioned by *Whitebread*. And pag. 23. he swears, that they had several Consultations in the Country, in several places which he names, and particularly at *Boscobel*, for the murdering of the King and the bringing in of *Popery*; (this sure proves the Plot) in which *Gawen* was a chief Oratour to perswade people into this design. Another meeting to this purpose he swears was at *Tixal*, where *Gawen* also was in *Septemb.* 1678. and that the Consult then was, for the introducing of *Popery*, and the taking away the Life of the King: and that he being a person chosen for that purpose, was to be sent to *London* by Mr. *Harcourt*, to be under the tuition of one *Parsons*; and that Mr. *Gawen* discoursed of it to him, and encouraged him in it, pag. 24. And that he had given them 400 *li.* for the carrying on of this design, and to pray for his Soul; and that he had promised them 100 *li.* more, for which they told him he should be canoniz'd a Saint. And that this discourse of killing the King, and introducing *Popery*, was in the Parlour in the Lord *Aston's* House, and in *Emers* Chamber. And pag. 25. Mr. *Dugdale* farther swears, he heard them discourse at one of these Consults, that it was the opinion of those at *Paris*, who were concerned in this Conspiracy, that as soon as the deed was done, that is the killing the King, they should lay it on the *Presbyterians*, that they might by that means provoke the other Protestants to cut them off, and then they might the more easily cut their throats; and that they should have an Army in readiness to cut off all such as were not (or would not be) Papists: and also that Mr. *Gawen* should tell him, neither men nor money should be wanting from beyond the Seas, and endeavoured by several Arguments to prove the design lawfull; and also, by Scripture, that it was lawfull and good to destroy any for the advantage of their Religion; and shewed the example of Father *Garnet*, and how that several of his Reliques beyond Sea had done great Miracles. And pag. 26. he swears, that he had intercepted and read (for their Letters came under his Cover) an 100 Letters to the same purpose, all tending to the introducing *Popery* and the killing the King.

And now I am to take notice to you of a most clear and manifest evidence, that Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* was murdered by the knowledge and contrivance of these men, and which till now never came to light, and proves it as plain as the Sun at Noon: for pag. 26. the same Mr. *Dugdale* swears, that on the *Monday* next after the murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, he received a Letter directed to Mr. *Emers* the *Jesuit*, being in the Countrey, and which Letter came from *London* by the *Saturday-nights* Post, the same night Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* was murdered, from Mr. *Harcourt*, signed *W. H.* his usual mark, and that he knew his hand; in which Letter these words were wrote, *This night Sir Edmundbury Godfrey is dispatch'd*: and that then, he the Deponent should say to *Emers*, that very thing would overthrow their design: and this was three days before any in *London* (except those privy to the murder) could tell what was become of this Knight: so as the thing is plain *Harcourt* knew of it. Then to prove this is none of *Dugdale's* invention, one Mr. *Chetwin* was tworn, pag. 27, 28. who says, that being at that time in the Country near where Mr. *Dugdale* was, the next day being *Tuesday* *October* the 15. another Gentleman came to him, and asked him if he had any news of a Justice of Peace in *Westminster* that was kill'd, for that he had heard it so reported at one *Eld's* House, by Mr. *Dugdale*. *Chetwin* replied he heard nothing of it, but that the next *Saturday's* Post brought him the news of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey's* murder, and tells by good circumstances how he knew it to be that very day: and also that he was not in Town when the murderers of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* were tied, or else he would have witnessed the same. This is a clear evidence these men knew of this murder.

Against *Turner*, Mr. *Dugdale* swears pag. 30. that he saw him with others at *Emers* his Chamber, where they consulted together to carry on this design, and that he agreed to all that he had sworn as to the Plot; that is the bringing in of *Popery*, and the killing of the King. Then pag. 30. Mr. *France* swears against *Harcourt*, that he told him such a day, when he bought an Image of the Virgin *Mary* of him, to send into *Mary-Land*, that there was a design of killing the King. Against *Fenwick* he swears pag. 31. that he told him in Mr. *Ireland's* Chamber in *Russel-street*, *Ireland* and *Grove* being by, that there should be 50000 men in a readiness to carry on the Cause, and settle their Religion; and that he asked *Fenwick* who should govern them, who then replied, the Lord *Bellasis*, the Lord *Powis*, and the Lord *Arundel*.

The next witness is Mr. *Bedlow*, who gives an account why he did not before give in his evidence against *Whitebread* and *Fenwick*, because he was then finding out the Bribery of *Reading*, in behalf of the Lords in the Tower. But now he positively swears pag. 32. that he had seen both *Whitebread* and *Fenwick* at the Consults about this Plot, and that he heard *Whitebread* tell *Coleman* the manner of sending the four Russians to *Windfor* to

kill

kill the King, and this was in *Harcourt's* Chamber; and also, that he saw *Harcourt* take the money out of a Cabinet, about 80. or 100 *li.* and give it the Messenger, by *Mr. Coleman's* order, with a *Ginny* for the Messenger to drink *Coleman's* Health, which *Coleman* left, as *Harcourt* himself said. And *pag. 33.* he swears that *Whitebread* told him, that *Pickering* was to have a great number of *Masses*, and that *Grove* was to have 1500 *li.* for killing the King. And *pag. 35.* he swears, that *Harcourt* employed him several times to carry their Consults beyond the Seas, and that he received, in *Harcourt's* presence, *Mr. Coleman's* thanks for his fidelity, and that *Harcourt* recommended him to the Lord *Arundel*, who promised him great favour when the Times were turned. Also, that he saw *Harcourt* give Sir *George Wakeman* a Bill to receive 2000 *li.* in part of a greater sum, and that he heard Sir *George* say, 15000 *li.* was a small Reward for the settling Religion and preserving three Kingdoms from Ruine.

These are the chief proofs which are punctually sworn to, besides some Letters found among *Harcourt's* Papers that gave some light of this Design, and strengthened the Evidence very much, which I pass over. And in this Evidence you may observe, that there is the Testimony of three, *Mr. Oates, Dugdale, and Bedlow*, against *Whitebread*. And likewise three quite blank against *Fenwick*, viz. *Oates, Bedlow and France*. And against *Harcourt*, very fully four, *Oates, Dugdale, Bedlow and France*. Against *Gawen*, there is positively *Dugdale* and *Oates*. And against *Turner* two likewise, *Dugdale* and *Oates*. Whereby the matter of Fact is plainly proved, and the Evidence full and legal, notwithstanding their denial of the same.

Now we will see what Defence these Learned men do make for themselves: and, as my Lord Chief Justice says, they defend their Lives as they do their Religion, with weak Arguments and fallacious Reasons, which take many times with the Ignorant, seldom with the Judicious. As to the matter of Fact charged against them, they can say nothing by way of disproof, excepting their stout Denials; and they are not ashamed to contradict all Oaths, how punctually soever sworn to, and in the face of the Court to charge them all with Perjury, but prove nothing that can truly invalidate the Testimony that is brought against them. All they endeavour is by way of Evasion, and to catch at circumstances, as to Time and Place: and to disprove *Mr. Oates*, they came as to that prepared, as they thought, and had brought a small Regiment of young Lads, well trained in their Principles, who endeavour'd to have perswaded the Jury that *Mr. Oates* was at *S. Omar's*, at the time he said he was in *London*, and that such persons did not come over with him as he had sworn did. But supposing they had made this Allegation good, still, I say, it depended upon the nice circumstance of Time, which *Mr. Oates* might be mistaken in, and yet the truth of the Plot no way invalidated, nor those matters of Fact charged against them by the other Witnesses any ways disproved. But you shall hear their Defence, and how far they could make this Allegation good, and how well *Mr. Oates* has defended himself, and then judge.

The first thing that *Whitebread* and *Fenwick* Object is, That they had come to a former Trial, and therefore thought, legally they ought not to answer for the same Fact, *pag. 4.* But the Court cleared that to them, that though Indicted they came not upon their Trial, and the Jury had them not in charge, and so their Lives were not in jeopardy, and that it was the constant course of the Law so to do, with several Reasons and Examples for the same, there more fully shewn, *pag. 5. and 6.* They then pleaded, as the rest, not Guilty. As to their Evasions and odd Interpretations of the Letters, and their aspersions of *Mr. Oates* and *Mr. Bedlow* as insufficient Witnesses, they are little to the purpose, therefore I shall pass them by.

The main in their Defence, is their offering to prove *Mr. Oates* mistaken in point of Time; for whereas he had sworn positively against them, that he was with them at their Consult, wherein they determined the Death of the King, held the twenty fourth of *April*, old Style, in *London*, they allege and endeavour to prove by at least sixteen Witnesses, young Lads of the College or Seminary at *S. Omar's*, that they saw *Mr. Oates* almost every day there in the College, from *December 1677.* to the middle or latter end of *June* following, and that he was never out of the College, but that they saw him every day, and convers'd and dined with him all that time, except two days and one night he was absent at *Watton*, and two or three days that he was in the Infirmary, he not being well, and that some of them saw and spake with him in the Infirmary; and by several circumstances they seem to make all these Asseverations good. So that if this be true, and that they can perswade the Jury to believe this Testimony, (as they ought, if no ways to be disproved) they have done their work, as to *Mr. Oates*. And this they do *pag. 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51.* and so to *pag. 63.* so that it is impossible that *Mr. Oates* should swear Truth, and that he should be in *London* the twenty fourth of *April* at the Consult, if what these Witnesses say be true, and that *Mr. Oates* was never out of the College, till some time in *June*, from *December* before: and so his Testimony ought to be invalidate. Then, whereas *Mr. Oates* had sworn he came over with Sir *John Warner* and Sir *Tho. Preston Jesuits*, they endeavour to prove, and from *pag. 60. to 63.* the Witnesses do confidently aver, that the said persons were not, the one from *Liege*, the other from *Watton in Flanders*, neither *April* nor *May*, and so *Mr. Oates* could not come over with them to *England* as he had sworn.

Let us now see how *Mr. Oates* doth make good his Testimony, and what proof he brings to contradict these Novices who came so well prepared. First by the way, we must observe, that most of the Witnesses say, that *Mr. Oates* left their College some time in *June*, some say the tenth, some at the latter end, &c. but *pag. 53.* one Witness mistakes his month, and avers he is sure it was in *July*, that *Mr. Oates* went away: and being told that he differ'd from all the rest, he cry'd, he was sure he was there till after the Consult in *London*; which gave a great light to what point of time these Novices were instructed to speak to, and caused the people to laugh, to see the young man out in his part.

But to let that pass, we will see *Mr. Oates* his proofs, and he brings at least seven substantial Witnesses, who swear they saw him in *London* in *April* and *May 1678.* the time they aver him to be at *S. Omar's*. *Page 80.* *Mr. Walker* a Minister swears, that in *April (78.)* he met *Mr. Oates* in *S. Martin's Lane* disguised in a Serge Coat and Gray Hat, which

which he wondered at, not knowing he was turn'd *Jesuite* : and the next morning he relates the same to one Mrs. *Ives*, who in Court swears the same, that in *April* the said Mr. *Walker* came to her Shop and told her, that the day before he had met Mr. *Oates* at the upper end of *Saint Martins-lane*, near *Leicester-House*, in disguise. So that you have here one positive Witness, and a strong concurrent Testimony. *Pag. 81.* Mrs. *Mayo* swears more punctually as to point of Time, that a week before *Whitsuntide*, or thereabouts, which was in *May*, she saw Mr. *Oates* in Sir *Richard Barker's* Court-yard in *London*, and that one of Sir *Richard's* men told her, that it was Mr. *Oates*, and that he was either turn'd Quaker or Catholick; but that she said he was no Quaker, because he then wore a *Perriwig*: and that about a week after she saw him again walking in the Garden with another Gentleman: and swears this Mr. *Oates* then in Court was the same man she had seen. The other young man that then knew Mr. *Oates* was dead. Then *pag. 81.* one *Page* swears that he saw this Mr. *Oates* in a Gray or Light-coloured Campaign Coat, and discours'd with him at Sir *Richard Barker's* in *May* (78.) and tells a circumstance to prove his knowledge that it was in *May*. Then Sir *Richard Barker* swears, that his Servants told him that Mr. *Oates* was at his House about *Whitsuntide*, and that he was there in two several disguises, once with short hair, and another time with a *Perriwig*, and that they thought he was turn'd either Quaker or Papist. Then *pag. 83.* Sir *Richard Barker's* Coachman swears, he was well acquainted with Mr. *Oates*, and that he was at Sir *Richard's* House in *Barbican* in the beginning of *May* (78.) with his hair cut close to his ears, in Gray Cloaths and a Gray Coat, and then enquired of him for D. *Tongue*; and that he knew him well for three years before, and is very sure he in Court was the same man. *Pag. 84.* Mr. *Smith*, Schoolmaster at *Islington*, swears, that in the beginning of *May* 1678. he dined with him at his House in *Islington*, and, as he remembers, it was the first Monday in *May*, and that he knew him well, for he had been his Scholar at *Merchant-Taylours* School when he was Under there: and that he stayed with him three or four hours after Dinner discoursing of his Travels. Then Mr. *Clay* swears, *pag. 84.* and *85.* that he met Mr. *Oates* in *April* and afterwards in *May* (78.) at Mr. *Howard's*, who lived in one Corner of *Arundel-House*, and that this was the same man he saw there: and this Mr. *Clay*, who testified this, is a *Roman Catholick*; so that they are not all Protestants that he brings to annul their Evidence, but one of their own Religion, who durst speak Truth. And now let all the world judge, whether the Jury had any reason to think that Mr. *Oates* his Evidence was any ways weakened by all that those *Novices* had averr'd, knowing that the Protestant Religion allows in no case of telling a lie, much less of swearing falsely.

As to their averring, that Sir *Jo. Warner* and Sir *Tho. Preston* were at their several places of residence all *April* and *May*, and so could not come over with Mr. *Oates* to *England*, as he had sworn, Mr. *Oates* not knowing of what they would have insisted on, was not prepared with Witnesses to back that Testimony: but it being a matter of little or no consequence, and they failing of making good the more substantial part of their Defence, we may well believe they also made a false Report in this latter, as well as in the former.

Then Mr. *Gawen pag. 63.* undertakes also to prove that he was in the Country in *Staffordshire* all *April*, *June* and *July*, the time of the Consult, and the time that Mr. *Oates* had sworn he saw his hand to the Consult: and for this he brings several Witnesses from *pag. 63.* to *69.* But, whoever considers well what the Evidence says there in the Prisoners behalf, will find, that these Witnesses were not so confident as those from *S. Omar's*, and that they speak so mincingly and give so weak Reasons, that in truth it appears not by what they say, but that Mr. *Gawen* might step up to *London*, and sign this Consult in few days, without their knowledge; for they cannot but say, he was sometimes at the Lord *Ayton's*: but *pag. 65.* Mrs. *Winford* says, she knows he could not go to *London*, because he had not his Linnen with him: and this is all the reason, which is a very weak one. To this Mr. *Oates* swears again, *pag. 67.* that he saw him in *London*, either in the beginning or middle of *July*: then Mr. *Gawen* brings several Witnesses *pag. 68.* and *69.* that indeed prove he was not in *London*, but at *Wolverhampton* the latter end of *July*, but as to the beginning or middle of the Month, none of them can speak; so that the thing is plain he doth not contradict Mr. *Oates* his Testimony, for he might be in the Country all the time his Witnesses aver, and yet be in *London* at the time Mr. *Oates* had sworn.

Then *pag. 69.* Mr. *Whitebread* offers Witnesses to prove that D. *Oates* had sworn an untruth, and therefore he was not *probus Testis* a credible Witness, in that he had sworn Mr. *Ireland* was in *London* the middle of *August* and beginning of *September*, which he could prove was false: but the Court let him know, that having already received a Verdict it ought not to be heard again: yet *pag. 71.* they were so favourable as to hear his Witnesses, though to that point; and *72, 73.* to *76.* some Witnesses that were not at *Ireland's* Tryal do aver, that Mr. *Ireland* was in *Staffordshire* from the fourth to the twenty sixth of *August*, so that it could not be true what Mr. *Oates* had sworn, that he was in *London* about the middle of *August*. Against this Evidence you have not onely D. *Oates* his Testimony upon his Oath, but also *Sarah Pain pag. 78.* and *79.* appeared in Court, who there gave in the same Evidence she had done in the former Tryal of Mr. *Ireland*, that she saw Mr. *Ireland* going into Mr. *Groves* his House, and that she made a Curtisie to him, about the middle of *August*, which is the time that D. *Oates* charges him to be in Town. So that you have two Witnesses on Oath, that contradict those brought by the Prisoners.

But since they have made a great talk of this Evidence, and have said that they had several Witnesses against two, one of them being their Accuser, and that some have thought this point not sufficiently cleared, I have for the satisfaction of the world here published what hath since come to my hands, and not at the time of the Tryals of these persons known, which is a very great confirmation of the Truth of D. *Oates* his Testimony, and I hope will give much satisfaction.

A Letter from Mr. *Jennison*, a Papist, touching Mr. *Ireland's* being in *London* in *August* 1678. which more clearly proves, that what he asserted at his Tryal, and not onely there, but in *Articulo mortis*, at the Gallows, and what his Party affirmed in Court and offer'd to swear, (that he was in *Staffordshire* and out of *London* from the fifth of *August* (78) to the seventh of *September* following,) is a great untruth: which is a material strengthening to the Evidence against him, and confirmation of Mr. *Oates* his Testimony. Which did come to light since the death of Mr. *Ireland*, and is now published for the satisfaction of those who might any ways doubt thereof, and think that the King's Evidence was not full therein.

READING Decemb. 19. 1678.

Dear Sir,

Yours I had bearing date the fifteenth of this Instant, and have not missed a Post I could send to you by. I am not ignorant of the offer made by his Majestie's Proclamation, and lay hold of nothing but pardon for concealing what circumstances I have known so long: yet did not altogether conceal it neither, for I told my Cousin Smith of it within two or three days, of the breaking out of this damnable Conspiracy, which how much it weighs I am not fit to judge. The speaking of Truth is an Action that rewards it self; and I would not, were it to gain a million, nay a million of worlds if possible, draw the least drop of Innocent blood upon me, for I know it is a crying sin, therefore I pray God avert it from me. All that I can tell you, as I hope for forgiveness of my sins, and eternal Salvation, is (if you will distinguish betwix the times) what follows. Being come from *Windfor*, where I promised my self the happiness and satisfaction of seeing you, that I might take my leave before my Journey for the North, which, to the best of my memory, was about the latter end of *August*, I went to do the same to Mr. *Ireland*, whom then (with all the rest) I did believe a man of the best conversation and life in the world; for you know the Law does presume every man good, unless he be proved otherwise. After my salute, and I had told him I had been at *Windfor*, his Interrogatory or Question was, What News? My return was the usual, No News but good. Then he proceeded to ask me (to the best of my memory) How his Sacred Majesty and the Court diverted. I replied, that I heard his Majesty took much delight in Hawking and Fishing, but chiefly in the latter, which his Majesty followed early in the morning, as I heard, accompanied onely with two or three Lords, or other Attendants. I wonder, says Mr. *Ireland*, why his Majesty should be so thin guarded, he were easily taken off, or removed; or some words to that purpose, so sounding. God forbid, I returned. No, subjoyns he, I do not say it is lawfull; and something else which I cannot call to mind; that did qualifie the former words, that I did then think his meaning was, he was sorry his Sacred Majesty should go so weakly guarded. I then took it by that handle, having no other reason, for I did believe him a Saint, never hearing him or any of them, as I hope for everlasting life, defend or maintain in the least that damnable Doctrine of Deposing Kings: but now I know that passage may be taken by the other handle, and I'm not fit to judge how far; yet you know words are to be taken in the milder sense, unless they be positive, which these with their qualification that followed, and the time they were spoke in, I humbly conceive, with submission to better judgments, were not; for if I had believed they were, they should have seen light sooner. I suppose there is clearer Evidence then this from Mr. *Oates*, that better knew him then I.

Taken from the Original Letter,
June 21. (79.)

Robert Jennison.

Some Observations or Remarks upon the foregoing Letter.

First, the words spoken by Mr. *Ireland* to Mr. *Jennison*, though then with a Plain-meaning man, and one ignorant of their Plot, though a Papist, they might receive that candid interpretation he put upon them; yet since it hath been made known, we may very well have a suspicion that Mr. *Ireland* made those Queries in relation to the horrid Design of murdering the King, which they then expected to be effected by the four Ruffians, which made *Ireland* say, hearing how slenderly he was guarded, that he might then be easily taken off.

But not to strain words against a man, when such positive proofs have been brought to condemn him, we bring not here this Letter so much to prove the Plot, as to be a very strong concurrent Evidence against Mr. *Ireland*, as to his being in *London* in *August*, which he denied, and his Evidence seemed to make good: and therefore as to that I desire you will consider,

That the King went to *Windfor* the thirteenth or fourteenth of *August* (78) as is proved by Sir *Robert Southwell* and by Sir *Ibo. Dolman*, at the Trials; it was indeed the fourteenth.

That Mr. *Jennison* in his Letter writes thus, Being come from *Windfor*, I went to take my leave of Mr. *Ireland*, before I took my Journey into the North: and Mr. *Ireland* asked, What news from *Windfor*? How does the King pass his time, &c? which notoriously proves that his discourse with *Ireland* was, when the King was at *Windfor*, and after Mr. *Jennison* came from thence, and before he went into the North, to wit, betwixt the nineteenth of *August* and the fourth of *September*, and implies that it was immediately after his coming from

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Windfor,

Windsor by the Question, What news from thence? And it is the more likely that it was immediately after, because Mr. *Jennison* himself says, he is sure it was a good while before he went into the North.

That this time nearly agrees with *Sarah Pain's* Testimony at *Ireland's* Trial. See the Trial, fol. 57.

That *Ireland* was try'd the seventeenth of December (78.) and Mr. *Jennison's* Letter was writ from *Reading* in *Berky* (whither he was gone in obedience to the Proclamation, being a Papist then, but has since Conform'd) the nineteenth following, so that he could not then have any knowledge of that Trial, or of what *Ireland* had insisted upon.

That when Mr. *Jennison* wrote this Letter, he was under an apprehension that he had offended, and was in danger for having concealed *Ireland's* discourse, of the easiness of taking off the King at *Windsor*, which seems to be the main occasion of his writing that Letter to his Friend in nature of a Confession.

I need say no more, for I question not but that all the world will say this is a very great concurrent Testimony and strengthening to the King's Evidence, as to that point of Mr. *Ireland's* being in *London*, notwithstanding what the *Staffordshire* Witnesses had said in the Prisoner's behalf. And as to the verity of this you may be easily inform'd, Mr. *Jennison* being a known person, and one of credit and reputation.

Then pag. 87. Mr. *Gawen* starts a point of Law, whether as to himself he may be legally condemned for Treason, being accused for one thing in *Staffordshire*; and for another thing in *London*, so that there is but one Witness to either. But the Court cleared this point to him by Sir *Hen. Vane's* Case, and pag. 88. told him that the Law was settled therein, and that they two, though they were Witnesses to two several acts done, in two several places, yet it was to the same Treason. For *Dugdale* swears to his killing the King, altering the Government, and bringing in of Popery; and *Oates* swears he saw his hand to the Consult, which was for the same Treason, viz. for the Murder of the King, raising an Army, and the bringing in of Popery, which is the same Treason: so that it was plain there were two Witnesses against him, and his Plea not to be admitted.

This is the whole substance of their Defence and what they have to say for themselves. I need not use any Arguments to shew the weakness of it, 'tis obvious to all that read or hear their Trials. And as to the matter of Fact which is so punctually sworn against them, they can say nothing, but only their own constant denials of their Guilt, and asseverations of their Innocency: but how far that will prevail with impartial men, I shall leave themselves to judge: but I am sure there were twelve men of one mind, that thought them guilty, and I am confident that there are twelve thousand of the same opinion, and that all those who say to the contrary, must speak it out of Ignorance or Prejudice.

As to the proofs against Mr. *Langborn*, you will find them very home and positive: and first pag. 6. and 7. Mr. *Dugdale* is brought to prove the Plot in general, which he again swears to as to their several Consultations and design of murdering the King, and massacring the Protestants, and bringing in of Popery: to which also Mr. *France* concurs. Then as to the particular Charge against Mr. *Langborn*, Dr. *Oates* swears pag. 10. that he carried several Letters from Mr. *Langborn* to persons beyond the Seas, in one of which he saw under his own hand, *That now they had a fair opportunity to begin and give the blow*, with many other expressions plain enough concerning the Plot; and these he saw signed *Richard Langborn*: and then he farther swears, that he had Orders from the Provincial to give Mr. *Langborn* an account of the Resolutions and passages that were form'd and done at this Consult of the twenty fourth of April, and that he gave him an account of the same, and of their Resolution of killing the King; and that the said *Langborn* lift up his hands and eyes, and pray'd to God to give to it a good success. Then pag. 11. he swears he saw in his Chamber, in the *Inner-Temple*, lying on the side of his Desk, certain Commissions, which he had heard to have been sent over to him for several persons in *England*, which they called Patents; and that upon Dr. *Oates* his desire to see them, he permitted him to peruse several of them, which he did, and there saw one Commission to the Lord *Arundel of Wardour*, and another to the Lord *Powis*, the one to be Lord High Chancellor, the other to be Lord High Treasurer of *England*, and to the Lord *Bellasis* to be General, to the Lord *Peters* to be Lieutenant-General, and one for Mr. *Coleman* to be Secretary of State, and for Mr. *Langborn* himself to be Advocate of the Army: and that these were signed *Johannes Paulus de Oliva*, by virtue of a Brief granted by the Pope. These Commissions were signed with the *Jesuits* mark. And that Mr. *Langborn* told him he had sent one of these Commissions by his Son, to be delivered to the Lord *Arundel of Wardour's* Son, and that it was delivered. And pag. 13. he swears, that Mr. *Langborn* being employed as Solicitor for several of the Fathers of the Society, that upon his solicitation of the *Benedictine* Monks, they had promised him 6000 *li.* for the carrying on of the Cause, and that Mr. *Langborn* promised in his hearing, to do his utmost for the procuring the said money. And also, that he was much disgusted with Sir *George Wakeman*, because he was not contented with 10000 *li.* to poison the King: and pag. 14. he swears that Mr. *Langborn* call'd the said Sir *George Wakeman* a covetous man, and that since it was a publick concern, it was no matter if he had done it for nothing, but that he was a narrow-spirited and narrow-soul'd Physician. Then an Instrument being produced in Court, signed by *Paulus de Oliva*, Mr. *Oates* swore that the Commissions he saw were signed by the same hand, and had all the same mark: but they were all convey'd away, and this being only concerning an Ecclesiastical business was left; however, this shews he used to receive Patents from, and had Commerce with the Superiour of the *Jesuits* in *Rome*. And this was found in Mr. *Langborn's* Chamber a long time after Mr. *Oates* had given in his Testimony.

Then pag. 19. Mr. *Bedlow* swears, he went with Mr. *Coleman* to Mr. *Langborn's* Chamber, and there Mr. *Coleman* gave him his Letters to Le *Chefe*, and to the Pope's Nuncio, and to others, open, to read, and to register in a Book by him kept for that purpose; and that he saw Mr. *Langborn* read these Letters, which were concerning

cerning the design they had in hand, and that he registred them in a Book in his Closet, whilst he and Mr. Coleman walked in the outer Room; and that afterwards Coleman sealed up these Letters, and gave them to Mr. Bedlow, who was to carry them to *Le Chese*, the King of France his Confessor; and that some of the expressions in those Letters were, *That all things were now in a readines, and that they onely wanted money: That the Catholics were now in safety, and that all places and offices had been disposed to them, and that all the Garrison were already in their hands, or would be put into their hands suddenly: And that now they had a fair opportunity, having a King so easy to believe what was dictated to him by their party; and that if they mist the opportunity, they might despair of ever introducing Popery into England.* This was the effect of most of the Letters, and with them Mr. Langborn was made acquainted, and registred them in a Book. Pag. 20. he swears he brought Letters from Harcourt to Mr. Langborn to be registred, which Mr. Langborn receiv'd, and registred accordingly; for he wrote by him to Harcourt, that he had receiv'd the Letters by Mr. Williams, (which was the name that Bedlow then went by) and that he would transcribe them, and return them to him again. Now these Letters were one of them declared to be from the Rector of the Irish Colledge at *Salamanca*, which specified that the Lord Belfast, and the rest of the Lords concerned, and the whole party should be in a readines, and to have it communicated with all expedition: for that they had sent some Irish Catholick Soldiers, with many other Lay-Brothers, under the notion of Pilgrims for *S. Jago*, who were to take shipping at the *Groin*, and to land at *Milford-Haven* in *Wales*, and there to meet and join with the Lord *Powis*. The other Letter was from Sir *William Godolphin*, which Mr. Bedlow had brought out of *Spain*, directed to the Lord *Belfast*, which was about the same design, and was also registred by Mr. Langborn in a Book which he saw near 3 inches thick, and that he guessees two thirds of the Book might be wrote out.

Now by this judge you whether the Indictment of High Treason be not proved against Mr. Langborn, and whether he be not guilty of this Treason and Conspiracy of bringing in Popery, of levying War, and killing the King, by two several witnesses, who have so positively sworn it against him.

The defence Mr. Langborn makes for himself, is no other then what his Brethren in Iniquity had done before him, to deny the fact, and to endeavour to invalidate the credit of the Witnesses, by intrapping them in point of time and place. And to this end pag. 14, 15, 16, &c. he asks Mr. Oates many questions little to the purpose, and onely to amuse the Auditours. Then pag. 27. he would make Mr. Oates an Approver, as having been pardoned for the same Crime; and that the witnesses had received rewards and gratifications for swearing against them: thus making no defence as to the matter of Fact, onely endeavouring to support themselves upon the incompetency of the Witnesses. But all these objections or cavillings were well answered by my Lord Chief Justice, who let him know, that unless he could prove any reward to be given by contract or subornation, it could not make an objection if there were any given, for that allowance or sustenance was usually given of old to Approvers, &c.

The next thing Mr. Langborn endeavours, is to invalidate Mr. Oates his testimony, by making him to be forsworn in point of time; and he brings the same witnesses from *S. Omars*, as were brought in the behalf of the five Jesuits the day before, to prove he was at *S. Omars* April and May, and so could not be in *London*; and they being the same evidence, and swearing to the same point, we will not repeat them: onely take notice, that one of them pag. 33. being asked how he came to take more notice of Mr. Oates being at *S. Omars* all April and May, and not in *June* and *July* as well, answers plainly, (not being well instructed, or more simple then the rest) that it was because the question he came for did not fall upon that time, which still gives more light to the suspicion, that they came with their Lessons in their mouths to save the Lives of these men, and not to speak truth. But to confront these witnesses, Mr. Oates produced in Court the same that had the day before sworn they had seen him in *London* both in April and May, so that he sufficiently clear'd his testimony by 7 Witnesses.

Then pag. 46. Mr. Langborn produces the Woman that kept the *White-horse Tavern*, where Mr. Oates had said the Consult was held, and she avers that there is no Room in her House would hold above a dozen, and that therefore there could not meet 50 or 18 or 20 persons there at a time. To answer this three several Witnesses strangers stood up in Court, and being sworn attested, the first, that he knew sixteen to Dine often in one Room of that House: the second, that he knew two Rooms, one backward, the other forward, where thirty might Dine at a time: and the third, that at a Wedding he knew of above twenty that Dined together in one Room next the Street. So that this Evidence did Mr. Langborn no kindness: for she that was so peremptory in this falsehood, might give a suspicion that the rest of his witnesses might be false in their averments.

Then pag. 57. Mr. Langborn goes about to prove by several witnesses, that Sir *Tho. Preston*, Mr. *Poole*, and Sir *John Warner* did not come over with Mr. Oates as he had attested, and this rests indeed on Mr. Oates his single testimony; but this being onely circumstantial, and not any way contradictory to the matter of Fact, it ought not, nor could not legally invalidate his evidence: For it is not much to the purpose, whether Sir *John Warner*, Sir *Tho. Preston*, and Mr. *Pool* came over with Mr. Oates or no; or if he did commit any mistake therein, these men not being indicted: but it had been more then a circumstantial matter, to have proved Mr. Oates to have been actually at *S. Omars* the time of the Consult, the 24. of April, and would have stuck against him, had he not well clear'd that matter by 7 substantial witnesses, who have sworn they saw him in *London* about the same time. So that all this consider'd, I think there is none, except he be much prejudic'd, who reads these, but will judge Mr. Langborn to have had a fair Trial, and that the Jury proceeded to find him guilty of Treason by the plain proof and testimony of two witnesses, back'd by other circumstances, among which, the Letter found amongst Harcourt's papers was one, that proved the Consult to be the same time, and clearly hints also the design to be of the same nature, as Mr. Oates had sworn it to be.

I think there is none that truly considers the fair Trials of these wicked Conspirators, and justly weighs every